THE LIFE OF CHARLES A. DANA

JAMES HARRISON WILSON

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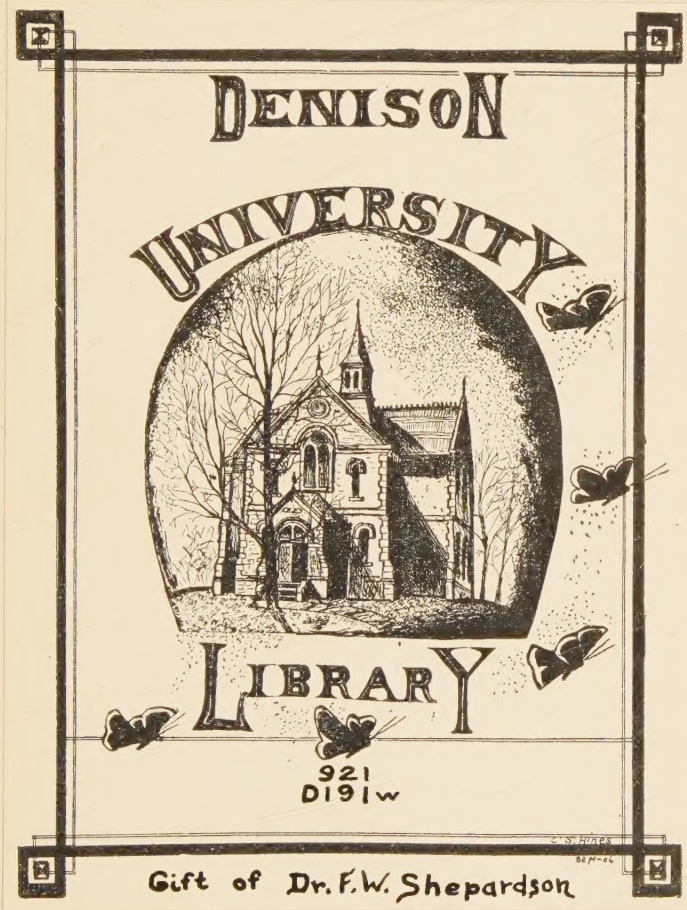
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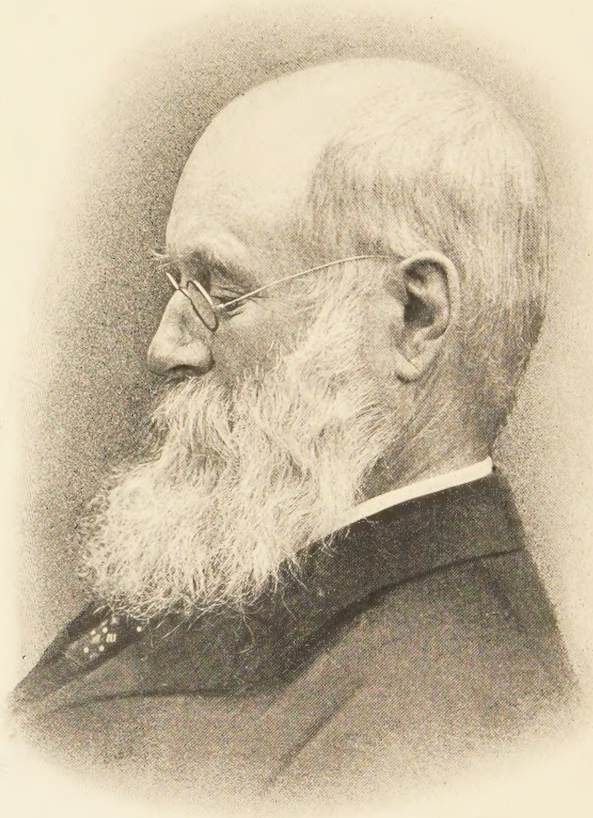

C. A. Dana.

THE LIFE OF

CHARLES A. DANA

BY

JAMES HARRISON WILSON, LL.D.

LATE MAJOR-GENERAL U. S. V.

NEW YORK AND LONDON
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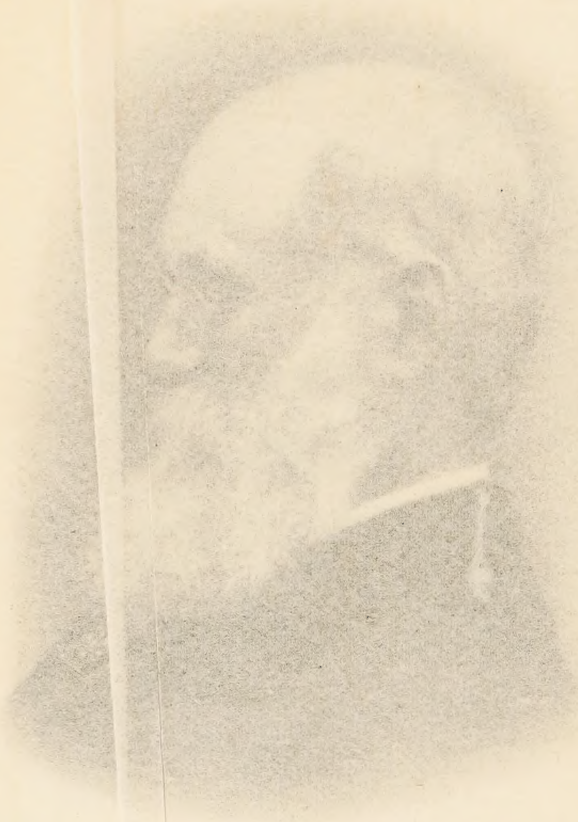

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PREFACE

Having met Charles A. Dana first in the spring of 1863, during the Vicksburg campaign, it was my good-fortune to serve with him in the field during three of the most memorable campaigns of the Civil War, and for a short period under him as a bureau officer of the War Department. Our duties threw us much together, and of all the men I ever met he was the most delightful companion. Overflowing with the knowledge of art, science, and literature, and widely acquainted as he was with the leading men and movements of the times, his conversation was a constant delight and a constant instruction. Blessed with a vigorous constitution and an insatiable desire for information, he never once, by day or night, or in the presence of danger, however great, declined to accompany me on an expedition or an adventure. Naturally this companionship begot both a confidence and an intimacy that, I am glad to say, lasted to the end of his career, and are my warrant for becoming his biographer.

As a journalist and as Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Dana was one of the most influential men of his time. Weighed for the strength and variety of his faculties, and for his power to interest and impress men's minds, he must be considered as the first of American editors. Yet it happened that in the great era of the Civil War his energies were so powerfully called upon, and his services were so vigorous and effective, that he must also be classed among the real heroes of that unequalled conflict. By his pen no less

than by his official action, he exerted a tremendous influence upon both the men and the measures of his day. As field correspondent, and office assistant to Stanton, the great War Secretary, he was potent in deciding the fate of leading generals as well as in shaping the military policies of the Administration. With the possible exception of John A. Rawlins, Assistant Adjutant-General and Chief of Staff to General Grant, Dana exerted a greater influence over Grant's military career than any other man.

It is perhaps well to add that while his family and his associates have put me in possession of many letters, documents, and clippings bearing on his public and private life, and have given me every possible assistance in the preparation of this work, I am solely responsible for its character and for the opinions which the reader will find expressed in the following pages.

James Harrison Wilson

Wilmington, Delaware, 1907

THE LIFE OF
CHARLES A. DANA

THE LIFE OF CHARLES A. DANA

I

EARLIER YEARS

Ancestry and family history—Clerk in store at Buffalo—Learns Seneca language—Coffee Club—Prepares for college—Enters Harvard

The subject of this memoir, Charles Anderson Dana, was the eldest child of Anderson Dana and his first wife, Ann Denison. He was seventh in the male line, from Richard Dana, the colonial settler, through Jacob, Jacob second, Anderson first, Daniel, and Anderson second. In the female line, he was descended from Ann Bullard, Patience ———, Abigail Adams, Susanna Huntington, Dolly Kibbe, and Ann Denison, whose mother, it should be noted, was Anne Paine, a daughter of one of the best-known and most widely disseminated families of New England. It will be observed that although the surname of one of these maternal ancestors is unknown, there is every reason to believe that, like the rest, her family were colonists of straight English blood. The same statement is doubtless true in reference to all the collateral connections, hence it may be confidently asserted that, with the exception of the attenuated stream from the Italian forebears of the first settler, the Dana family

is of absolutely pure New England blood. A study of its genealogy shows that practically every ramification of it has its American root in the earliest immigration of the colonists, a fact that well accounts for Dana's character as one of the most intense Americans, one of the most stalwart believers in the American people, and one of the most devoted partisans of American institutions that the country has produced. While the family records show but little of unusual distinction, they are filled with the names of serious men and women of all occupations and callings. In common with their neighbors, some were farmers, some mechanics, some merchants, some soldiers, and some sailors, with here and there an author, professor, lawyer, doctor, general, judge, legislator, and even a governor. While they were mostly plain and unpretentious people, they seem to have been always abreast of the times in native intelligence, industry, scholarship, courage, and public spirit. Susanna Huntington, the great-grandmother, and Ann Denison, the mother of Charles, were women of unusual character and worth, to whom the family immediately connected with the subject of this memoir freely confess their obligation for much of whatever superiority of character or intellect its most favored members may be thought to possess.

Charles Anderson Dana was born August 8, 1819, at Hinsdale, a small town in western New Hampshire. His father was at that time a merchant in a modest way, but failed in business when his eldest son was only a few years old. This misfortune was followed shortly by the removal of the family to the village of Gaines in western New York. Here the father had charge of a warehouse on the banks of the Erie Canal for a while, but soon gave it up to cultivate a small farm which he had bought near by. But misfortune still followed the family. Nearly the whole fell sick of the ague, at that time the scourge of every new

settlement in the country. The mother died, leaving four young children, Charles Anderson nine, Junius seven, Maria three years of age, and David a babe in arms. This loss made it necessary for the family to return to the home of Ann Denison's father near Guildhall in northeastern Vermont. Here the children were divided. Charles went to his uncle David Denison, who lived on a farm in the Connecticut River valley, while his brother and sister remained with their grandfather near by.

The life was a healthful one, and Charles, being from the first an unusually bright boy, was sent to the neighborhood school which, as was then customary, was kept open during the winter months only. Fortunately the teacher was an undergraduate of a New England college, who was not only competent but took an interest in his work. Charles naturally made rapid progress, and by the time he was ten years of age had become so proficient in most of his English studies that he was classed with boys as much as six and eight years his senior. Early after becoming a member of his uncle's family, he came into possession of a Latin grammar, and at once began the study of Latin. Whether this merely stimulated his natural aptitude, or developed an inherited but latent instinct for language, must necessarily remain a matter of speculation; but it is certain that from that time forward this New England lad, with but a slight strain of Continental blood in his veins, showed an extraordinary capacity for the acquisition of foreign tongues and the study of both ancient and modern literature.

By the time he had fairly entered his twelfth year, it was supposed that he had acquired sufficient education, especially in reading, writing, and arithmetic, to earn his own living, and accordingly, with the consent of his uncle and grandfather, he was sent to Buffalo, where he arrived greatly exhausted from the long and tiresome journey by

stage-coach. After several weeks' rest he became a clerk in the general store of Staats & Dana. He had already been taken into the family of his uncle William, who was junior partner of the firm, but later took board at the Eagle Tavern, which at the time was the best in Buffalo.

This was a most important move in the life of the young adventurer. It placed him in a wider and more progressive field than was offered by the wilds of northeastern Vermont. Buffalo, situated at the eastern end of Lake Erie, near the outlet of the Erie Canal, was already becoming a commercial centre of great importance. It contained a population of about twenty-five thousand souls, and counted a number of distinguished lawyers and doctors as well as prosperous merchants among the principal citizens. It was even at that early day noted for the education, refinement, and public spirit of its leading people. William Dana was himself a man of intelligence and note, who was interested in one of the principal stores of the city, with a branch at a neighboring town, both establishments having an extensive trade in dry goods and notions with the surrounding country, and especially with the civilized Indians of the Six Nations. Naturally enough, as these were the first Indians Charles had ever seen, the young clerk became greatly interested in them and their primitive ways, and as the women spoke but little English, he set about learning their language. In a short time he had practically mastered it, and his retentive memory never forgot it. Many years afterwards, during the siege of Vicksburg, he gave a striking illustration of the thoroughness with which he had learned this strange tongue and the tenacity with which he had retained it. Coming into camp one night after a hard day's ride, we found a strange officer at the camp-fire, Captain Ely S. Parker, a full-blooded and well-educated Seneca Indian, who had been recently detailed at head-

quarters to assist Colonel Rawlins and Captain Bowers in the growing work of the adjutant-general's department. Dana was duly introduced, but before taking off his side arms and making himself comfortable, he said to me, aside: "I think I know that man's people, and if he is a Seneca, as I think he is, I can speak his language. What do you think he would do if I were to address him in his own tongue?" As the gentleman was also a stranger to me, I could hardly venture an opinion, but as my own curiosity was aroused, I said at once, "Try it on and let us see." Thereupon Dana, without a perceptible pause for reflection, addressed the captain in a well-sustained phrase filled with clicks and guttural sounds. Parker, although a man of grave and dignified bearing, looked puzzled and surprised at first, but as soon as Dana paused his interlocutor replied in words of the same kind. A brief but animated conversation followed, and before it was ended a smile of gratification broke over Parker's face, and an acquaintance was begun which lasted till his death. Dana afterwards told me that he had learned the language as a boy, but had neither spoken nor thought about it seriously since he left Buffalo, over twenty years before. He and Parker met frequently during the various campaigns in which they took part, and were in the habit of conversing in the Seneca dialect, especially when they did not care to be understood by others.

This incident attracted the special notice of the other officers present, and particularly of General Grant, upon whom it apparently made a deep and lasting impression. The general, it will be noted, was not much of a linguist himself, but he often mentioned this talk at his camp-fire as illustrating Dana's unusual talents in that direction.

But Dana's study of languages did not end with his mastery of the Seneca dialect. It will be recalled that he had begun the study of Latin at his uncle's in Vermont,

and now that his new life as a clerk not only gave him more leisure of evenings, but brought him in contact with a larger circle of educated people, he renewed the study of that language with avidity and industry. His progress was phenomenal. He not only mastered the grammar, but soon became proficient in reading the Latin classics, which in those days were supposed to be the only sure foundation for a liberal education. Just how or when the young clerk began with the Greek grammar and literature is not recorded, but that he did begin probably while at work in Buffalo, and that he made the same rapid progress as with Latin, becomes certain when his later attainments are considered. He was from the start a good clerk, and mastered the details of the business. Indeed, there is reason to believe that he always looked back upon his experience in his uncle's store as having made a business man of him, although it is certain that he early acquired a distaste for store-keeping if not for commerce, and secretly determined to become a scholar and devote himself to a professional life. He received a salary for his services, and while it was but small, as was customary in those days, the cost of living was correspondingly low, and hence he was able to lay by something for future use.

One who was a fellow-clerk for several years describes him as "a quiet, studious boy who loved nature and books, and although a good salesman, rather prone to spend too much time in the adjoining book-store looking over volumes he could not buy." He loved to make long excursions into the woods, and fishing was a perfect delight to him.

It is said that when he first saw Niagara Falls, he was so impressed by them that he composed an ode on their grandeur which had considerable merit, but as it has long been lost this statement must be taken on faith.

As the lad grew in strength and intelligence, his taste

for literature and his determination to acquire a thorough education became the ruling purpose of his life. Although he dressed well and was agreeable in manners, he rather shunned than sought social gatherings. He thought they took too much time, and that he had better spend his evenings at home reading poetry, romance, and history. During this period he became greatly interested in the American Revolution and in the early presidents. He specially admired General Jackson, and sounded the praises of the great Tennessean upon all proper occasions. From the first he was unusually independent in the selection of his books. Among the rest, he read and openly expressed his admiration for the works of Tom Paine, possibly because he may have been a distant kinsman, but certainly because he was a patriot who addressed his countrymen, in *Common Sense* and *The Crisis*, in virile and masterly English.

Until he was seventeen, Dana confined his general reading to the masters of English literature, and this fact doubtless accounts for the purity and vigor of the style which from that time forth characterized his correspondence as well as his more formal writings.

He was now in the period of his dawning ambition. The world and its mysteries were opening before him, and alluring him to explore and master their significance. With the avid curiosity which is the chief characteristic of youth, he sought by all the means within his reach to know, not only the history of his country, but the nature of man and the motive of his actions in the pursuits of life. He was indifferent to nothing which opened the secrets of history or revealed the laws of the visible world about him; but even in his earliest reading it is to be observed he showed a decided preference for the study of man and his attainments rather than for science; for literature and art rather than for mathematics and

physics; and that in his chosen field he regarded language as the chief instrument — the master-key with which to unlock the secrets of the intellectual world. And this explains why henceforth, even to the end of his career, the study of language was his chief occupation and delight.

Before passing to an account of the new life upon which young Dana was about to enter, it is worthy of note that during the Patriot War, which took place in Canada about this time, Buffalo, as a frontier town, became greatly excited. Sympathy ran high with the patriots; General Scott was sent to the Niagara border to insure the observance of strict neutrality, and to prevent an outbreak which the capture and burning of the *Caroline* by the Canadians came near precipitating. The militia was called out, but, barring a few parades and marches through the streets of Buffalo, it took no part in active operations. Young Dana, as a member of the City Guard, which he had joined along with a number of his companions when the excitement began to rise, participated in its exercises, and so long as the crisis lasted was somewhat in danger of becoming a soldier. Notwithstanding a serious and cautious turn of mind, he shared the public sympathies, and regarded himself as fully able to do a man's part, not only towards maintaining the public order, but in defending the public interests.

The Patriot War, however exciting, was a passing episode which soon gave way to another of far greater concern to the subject of this narrative. A great financial and business crisis was at hand, which, unfortunately for the uncle and his partner, but perhaps fortunately for their young clerk, was about to overwhelm the firm in irremediable ruin. It will be recalled that a wild and destructive panic which involved all kinds of business throughout the United States took place in 1837. In common with thousands of other merchants who did a

credit business, Staats & Dana could neither collect the money due to them nor pay what they owed to others, consequently there was nothing left for them but to close their doors, discharge their clerks, and save what they could from the wreck.

Of course young Dana shared the fate of his companions, and thus found himself unexpectedly at the parting of the ways. His career as a merchant's clerk, except for temporary employment the next year by George Wright & Company, was ended without the slightest regard to his preferences; but they now asserted themselves, and without hesitation he decided to enter college as soon as he could make the necessary arrangements and complete his preparation in scholarship, which was done entirely by himself. While it is not positively known, it is altogether probable that he selected Harvard mainly through the influence of his friend and neighbor Dr. Austin Flint, a brilliant young practitioner of medicine who had graduated there in 1833, and removed to Buffalo to enter upon his profession two years later. It is certain that young Dana soon became intimate with him, and that they spent much of their leisure together till Dana set out for Cambridge. Flint was a man of high scholarship and engaging manners, and afterwards achieved great distinction at Buffalo as well as in New York, to which place he removed in 1859. For several years after parting he and Dana appear to have kept up an active correspondence, extracts from which will be given as occasion arises.

Encouraged by his friends, sustained by his ambition, and impelled by his cherished purposes, Dana left Buffalo to enter upon his new life in June, 1839. He was then about twenty years of age, tall and slender, with a fresh complexion, fastidious in taste and habits, and highly esteemed by all who knew him. Speaking of him, an old

friend says, "The general impression he made upon all in Buffalo at that time was that of a student bound to gain knowledge, and that he was blessed by an intelligence superior to most of the young men with whom he associated."

That the prevalent impression of young Dana, at the period alluded to above, must have been highly favorable is strongly supported by the fact that on January 29, 1839, he delivered before the "Coffee Club" of Buffalo, of which he was a member, an exceedingly interesting lecture on "Early English Poetry," the manuscript of which, in his own clear and distinct handwriting, is now in my possession. It shows the wide range of his reading on the subject of his lecture, and exemplifies his poetical theories, his power of statement, and his canons of criticism. While his style at that time appears somewhat stilted, it was surprisingly clear, direct, and comprehensive for a lad of his years and opportunities.

Speaking in after years to an old friend, Dana declared, that "the best days of his life, as regards health and happiness, were spent in Buffalo, whence he went to fish in the Niagara, to hunt in the American and Canadian woods, to hobnob with the Indians at their reservation near by, and to make trips down the river to the falls." It was surely a delightful region, which he must have left with regret, and to which he returned with pleasure whenever he had the opportunity. His best and most intimate friends still lived there, and were always ready to receive him with open arms and a generous welcome. He had passed his teens and reached his adolescence among them, and in entering upon a still broader field of life and intellectual development, he naturally turned to these friends and this home of his youth for sympathy and encouragement.

It should be stated that his father, who appears to have always been somewhat of a dreamer and never a suc-

cessful or forehanded man, had married again and was raising a new family, which taxed his slender resources to the utmost. He had done nothing for his first set of children after taking them to Vermont, nor was he afterwards able to give them any help whatever. Charles, like the rest, was therefore forced to depend absolutely upon himself and such chance assistance as he could secure from his friends, or from the funds of the college which he attended. His own savings could not have exceeded two hundred dollars at most, but without doubt or fear he went forth, as many another American youth has gone, with unfaltering faith and a stout heart to find an education and to make his way in the world.

II

EDUCATION

Rank at college—Teaches school—Eyes break down—Leaves college—Correspondence with friends—Joins Brook Farm

On a bright morning in June, 1839, Charles Dana, then about two months over twenty years of age, left Buffalo for Cambridge, for the purpose of entering Harvard College. Travel in those days was by stage-coach, canal, and steamboat, and was far more difficult and tiresome than now.

The annual university catalogues and the faculty records show that Charles Anderson Dana, of Buffalo, matriculated as a freshman without conditions in September, 1839, and that his standing at the end of his first term was seventh in a class of seventy-four, with an aggregate mark of 2246. The maximum is not given, but the highest attained by any member of the class is given as 2421. In view of the fact that Dana had not attended school since he was twelve years of age, and that he had prepared himself for college during such leisure as he had after doing his daily work as a clerk, this result must be counted as quite unusual if not extraordinary.

After his first term, Dana was not ranked again, doubtless for the reason "that his work was apparently never quite complete at the end of any other term."

The records show, August 31, 1840, that he was "readmitted to the sophomore class on probation," and that on September 1st, he (with other sophomores) was permitted

to drop the study of mathematics, taking some prescribed course of study instead thereof. On November 23d of the same year it was voted that Dana (with other sophomores) have permission to be absent during the winter for the purpose of "keeping school." On January 13, 1841, it was "voted that Dana (with four other sophomores) be admitted to the university in full standing as a matriculated student." On May 31st following, it was "voted that Dana, sophomore, be matriculated," and finally, on June 2, 1841, it was "voted that Dana, sophomore, have leave of absence for the rest of the term on account of ill-health."

While the faculty records fail to make any further explanation, it is suggested by the president's secretary that the meaning of the several matriculations mentioned above is probably, that at each of the given dates Dana had made up his back work, although it never happened to be complete at the end of any term after the end of the first of his freshman year. It is clear, however, that he completed two years of college work, resumed his connection with the college on September 6, 1841, was entered in the annual catalogue for 1841–42 as a junior, and that the honorary degree of bachelor of arts was conferred on him by the university in 1861, as of the class of 1843. So far as the records go, this is the whole story, but the gaps will be filled in with sufficient detail from other sources.

The fact is that the supply of money Dana had brought with him to college soon became exhausted, and having no one to whom he could turn for help, he was forced to find employment, and, as was the fashion, naturally took to school-teaching. His first and only engagement seems to have been at Scituate, where he boarded with the family of Captain Seth Webb. His salary was twenty-five dollars a month, including board, as was the custom of the times.

It appears that early in May of that year the student had begun to feel the necessity for help, for on the 12th, C. C. Felton, professor of Greek, wrote him a letter which he kept all his life. It runs as follows:

"I hasten to answer your letter which reached me last evening. Upon receiving it, I immediately conversed with the president on the subject, and ascertained what I supposed was the fact, that there is a fund which is loaned on easy terms to young men desirous of availing themselves of it. I do not know precisely how large it is, but I presume you would find no difficulty in meeting your college expenses with what you might thus obtain, added to what you might earn by teaching school during the winter.

"I advise you by all means to return to college, for with your abilities and honorable purposes it is impossible you should fail of success, and this I should have said to you before had I known that you were about to leave the college. It was some time after the beginning of the present term when I was first informed that you had left your class, and I received the intelligence with much regret. Had you consulted me I should have strongly dissuaded you from the step.

"You need have no gloomy forebodings for the future. Industry, talent, and elevated principles, all of which I doubt not you possess, are sure of accomplishing their aims sooner or later. Relying upon these as your best supporters, I earnestly counsel you to resume your studies at the earliest possible moment."

This letter sheds a flood of light upon the condition and character of Dana, as well as upon the consideration in which he was held by his professors. Coming as it did from one of the most learned and influential members of the faculty, afterwards for two years its honored president, it makes it clear that Charles Dana was even at that early day no ordinary person, but one who arrested the atten-

tion and excited the sympathetic interest of those in authority over him. He always cherished these words of regret, encouragement, and counsel, as well he might, for the confidence and strength they must have given him in the struggles which beset his career from first to last. At all events, he did return from time to time to his college work, until he had completed his second year, when he was forced to give it up entirely by the failure of his eyes, which will be more fully referred to hereafter.

As it appears from the records of the faculty, he early gave up mathematics and the sciences, and concentrated his mind upon the classics, literature, and philosophy, for which he then had a decided predilection. It is worthy of note, that while in later life he was by no means indifferent to the sciences, all of which made such tremendous strides during the last half of the nineteenth century, he always held that a thorough knowledge of both ancient and modern languages was a useful equipment for the profession of journalism.

The time spent at Scituate seems to have been both profitable and happy. He became fast friends with the family in which he boarded, and especially with the sons of Captain Webb, one of whom afterwards named his eldest son after him. School-teaching, though useful, was wearisome. It not only compelled him to study the ordinary branches in order to keep ahead of his pupils, but gave him an opportunity of evenings to continue the study of his college course. But it had another influence which was not so favorable. It necessarily took him out of the college much of the time, and thus deprived him of college society, and of association with his classmates, with few of whom he ever came to be intimate. He was an industrious and omnivorous reader, and whether in or out of college wasted but little time in the diversions and pleasures of college life.

He did all he could, without reference to hours, to master the studies laid down in the curriculum; but not content with that, he burned midnight oil in lighter and doubtless more agreeable reading. In those days gas was always bad and but little used. At best the main dependence was on candles and whale-oil lamps. Coal-oil and camphene were unknown, and consequently many a pair of good eyes were ruined. Dana's, which from his studious habits must have always been overtaxed, if not naturally weak, gave out while he was reading *Oliver Twist* by candle-light, and thus compelled to find relief, he retired from college and sought a less exacting occupation.

While at Buffalo he kept up a somewhat desultory correspondence with his family, and especially with his father, who cautioned him to write only "as often by mail as really necessary," adding, "I live a few rods from the post-office and can in some way pay the postage even if Mr. Kendall (the Postmaster-General) pleases to require specie." The subjoined letter from his father presents another obstacle than the need of money to his entering college:

"At any rate, the information [your aunt gave me] about you is far, very far from being agreeable. She tells me that you have been for a long time in the habit of attending the Unitarian meeting. Is it possible that the smooth sophistry of its supporters and advocates, and the convenient latitude of its doctrines have so beguiled you that you have lost sight of the odious and abominable courses and unfaith to which they unavoidably lead? If so I do not suppose anything your father could say would produce any alteration, still I would raise a warning voice and say ponder well the paths of thy feet lest they lead down to . . . the very gates of Hell!

. . . . . .

"My fears are greatly increased by the suggestion that you expect shortly to go to the Cambridge University. When

there, if you should finally take that course, hope must be at an end. I know that it ranks high as a literary institution, but the influence it exerts in a religious way is most horrible —worse even than Universalism—and in fact, in my opinion, worse than deism. Can you not give up going there and turn your attention to Hudson?"

I have quoted the foregoing extracts to show that the family belonged to the Orthodox Congregational Church of New England, and naturally viewed any departure from that faith as sure to lead downward. There seems to be no doubt that Charles early began to draw away from the religion of his father, and while at Cambridge, if not before, became attracted by the greater freedom of the Unitarian faith. The Cannings and the Ripleys, who were not only eloquent but liberal men of great learning, had already impressed themselves on the New England mind, and it would have been a curious circumstance if their "sweetness and light" had not won its way into the heart of the young and open-souled student. I find no evidence that he ever formally united with the Unitarian or any other church, but he made it clear in his correspondence with his friends at Buffalo that he at one time thought seriously of studying theology and becoming a minister of the gospel. If he had had sufficient means to continue at college in comfort and without interruption, in spite of his father's remonstrance and the weight of family tradition, he might possibly have taken that course.

As it turned out, however, his fortunes were too uncertain, his life too unsettled, to admit of his settling down to the rigid requirements of an orthodox faith. Evidence even at this early day is not wanting that he was essentially a freethinker, or at least a fearless seeker after truth from the start, no matter in what direction it might lead him.

While living at Buffalo, he chose his special friends from the doctors, lawyers, teachers, and law students, a dozen or so of whom united with him in forming the Coffee Club, the object of which was mutual improvement in literature. It met weekly at the houses of such members as had houses, and at such other places as might be rented by those who had none. Original and selected essays were read, discussed, and referred to the scribe. How long this society was in existence is not known, but that it held together for several years is evident from Dana's correspondence with James Barrett, who was at that time a law student in the office of Deacon James Crocker, a rising lawyer of Buffalo. The Rev. Mr. Hosmer, Dr. Austin Flint, and John S. Brown, head of the principal school of the city, were also members, and all became intimate with Dana, but Flint and Barrett were his special friends, and to them we are indebted for correspondence which casts a light upon Dana's plans and mental development.

On April 1, 1839, Dana wrote from Buffalo to Barrett about the delights and the pranks of the day, and also the occupations and plans of several of their friends, and added:

"As for myself, I labor daily at my studies, almost like a wanderer in a desert land, without guide save here and there a defaced and time-worn finger-post wherefrom he may gather somewhat of information, but no certain intelligence of his locality, or accurate knowledge of the path lying before him. And yet do I advance with a stout heart and unwavering determination, fearing not but that I shall at last arrive at the end of my toilsome journey. Some fears of pecuniary difficulties, with which at your departure I was oppressed, have vanished; an arrangement is about to be concluded by which I shall have at my command four hundred dollars per year, so that I shall be above want. . . . I commence this morning at the biographical part of the Greek Reader."

This letter was promptly answered, and followed by another, and still another, both of which show a growing friendship, a playful fancy, and a clearing prospect. On May 24th he wrote to Barrett:

. . . "Now for myself. I am reviewing my Latin and Greek together daily, or rather nightly, which is the only sort of instruction I have had since your absence began. Mr. Hosmer wrote to Professor Felton, of Cambridge, who replied that I need have no fears on the score of admission, as, under the circumstances, I might be allowed to make up deficiencies while going on with the class."

On January 16, 1840, after he had been at Cambridge nearly a half-year, Dana wrote to Dr. Flint:

. . . "For my part, I am in the focus of what Professor Felton calls 'supersublimated transcendentalism,' and to tell the truth, I take to it rather kindly though I stumble sadly at some notions. But there is certainly a movement going on in philosophy which must produce a revolution in politics, morals, and religion, sooner or later. The tendency of the age is spiritual, and though the immediate reaction of the mind may be somewhat ultra, it is cheering to know that a genuine earnest action of some sort is in progress. Even old Harvard is feeling it. Locke is already laid aside, or the same thing as laid aside. Paley is about to suffer the same fate, and what is better perhaps than the inculcation of any positive doctrine, a course of study in the History of Philosophy is to be introduced and carried on with the study of Locke and Cousin, Paley and Jouffroy. Though it may be vain to expect a university as far advanced as the age, still I hope to see old Harvard not very far behind.

. . . . . .

"I attend Mr. Emerson's lectures only; they are without dispute very fine, though perhaps they might be better without some of his peculiarities. Their great merit appears to me to be their suggestive character; they make me think.

"Thinking you would like to know something certain about Spinoza, I send you Mr. Ripley's last pamphlet which is devoted to the examination of his system. I think you will be convinced that the common charges against him are false, and that instead of having been an infidel, or pantheist in the ordinary sense of the term, he was in the highest sense a theist."

On March 4, 1840, Dana wrote from Lancaster, New Hampshire, to James Barrett as follows:

. . . "I have been at Cambridge one term, half a year, and have never passed time so pleasantly and profitably to myself. I entered without any difficulty, and was fortunate enough to be put into the highest of the three sections into which the class is divided, which division is made with regard to proficiency in Latin and Greek. Without working so hard or so constantly as formerly, I have been able to maintain a respectable standing in my class and devote considerable time to philosophy and general literature. My class is a pretty large one for Cambridge, and I believe pretty good in point of talent. It is almost needless to say that I have become attached to it and the university.

"When I wrote you last, I thought myself rich enough to get through college with ease, but since then my prospects have changed considerably. Instead of doing as I wish, I shall have to do as I can. I was not so confident in the fulfilment of my expectations as to feel that disappointment very seriously. To save money, I have concluded to leave college for the present term, and with my books I am located here among my relatives and the mountains.

"Though I should much prefer returning to Cambridge, my present situation is not without its advantages, besides the cheapness of living, and I do not think I shall have any difficulty in being contented.

"I regret that Wakefield is to leave us, as he is almost the only man I have found here by whom I could expect to be helped through difficulties in Thucydides, which I am going

at as soon as I receive the rest of my books. At present I am at work on Xenophon's Memorabilia. . . . He is withal one of the pleasantest fellows I have met with in a long time.

"I heard from John Brown [of the Coffee Club] some two months since. He is good-natured as ever, happy in his wife and baby, and overflowing with love for all men. His heart is a continual fountain of gladness, and once in a while he comes out with a thought so beautiful and poetical that it makes you wonder how such a soul ever got into such a body." . . .

On April 12, 1840, he wrote again to Barrett, but this time from Guildhall, Vermont, whither he had gone to save money and continue his studies:

. . . "I am glad to see, in your account of miscellaneous reading, authors of such inoppugnable orthodoxy as Coleridge and Carlyle. To Coleridge, though I have read but a moiety of his writings, I look up as to a spiritual father; to me he is a teacher of wisdom. Apropos of Carlyle, in a recent letter to Mr. Emerson he says, that in preparing a second edition of the *History of the French Revolution* for the press, he was himself disgusted with the style, so that we may hope for his return to the pure and beautiful English of his earlier works.

"As for myself, I am living at my uncle's in true *otium cum dignitate*, no bells calling me to prayers or recitations, no college official coming to my door with 'the president wishes to see you, Mr. Dana,' and not one of those cursed bores 'seeking whom he may devour' ever disturbs my meditations. In one corner of my room stands my bed, next a window looking towards the sunrise is my desk, a side-table is covered with books; while your humble servant in dressing-gown and slippers sits near the fire in a great arm-chair, having 'pen in hand.' Here I study eight hours daily, having an occasional relaxation with a famous old fowling-piece that hangs in the kitchen, and a little tinkering once in a while in the workshop. I am fed, warmed, lighted, and otherwise cared for, for about nothing—perhaps a dollar a week, and that unwillingly taken.

"Besides all this I am with my only sister, who is now about

fifteen and whom I had not seen for more than eight years. To her young mind I may be of some assistance. This is the reason, in addition to what you justly call the '*causa causarum*' that I stay here rather than at Lancaster, where I have relatives and where I might have found agreeable society. From this, however, I am not wholly excluded, as I go thither three times a week to the post-office.

"Of true companions like yourself, I have but one—a young orthodox minister whose name is Burke. . . . With him I discuss philosophy, religion, and literature. In his religious dogmas I do not of course agree, and therefore with him I avoid all 'vain discussions.' If it were not for him I should dwell in a sort of intellectual solitude. . . . Though I am here to the great advantage of what many care for more than for life—to wit, my purse—and to my great good otherwise, I long to be with you, to live with you, and if possible will do so before I return to Cambridge, which I mean to do in the latter part of August. What will it cost to keep me at Woodstock?

. . . "Your eulogy concerning your New England village girls, as I suspect goes a notch or so beyond the reality, but a little extravagance on this subject may be pardoned in any one, certainly in yourself, for saith not the poet:

> "'The heart with its new sympathy with one
> Grows bountiful to all.'

"What marvel then that you should attribute 'beauty and brightness and loveliness' to the whole feminine gender! . . .

. . . "I have just finished the first book of Thucydides, and find some dozen passages, despite all my labor, utterly untranslatable. If I cannot find a translation and you have a copy of the original, I'll send them down for your consideration."

On August 18, 1840, Dana wrote again from Guildhall to his friend Barrett:

"After a week of pleasure at Hanover, I find myself once more on the hither side of the North Pole, in safety as I trust

of both mind and body. To me withdrawal from my daily studies and occupations is an event that occurs but seldom; but from its rarity it is the more highly enjoyed. To you such withdrawals are doubtless frequent, nay, as I guess, are reckoned among your duties, and done in the spirit wherein every duty should be performed.

"Since my return I have been busily engaged in preparing for my examination for readmission to college, whither I go next week—to practise an art of which I am wholly ignorant—to wit, the art of living without means. And yet in some sort I am rich, for are not the kind hearts and kind hopes of friends, 'fit though few,' of more value than wealth that begets selfishness?

"Last week I had letters from Buffalo. There is nothing new in that beautiful city of agitations, where the mass are restless and excitable as the surface of their own lake. Our friends are well-faring. I look forward with pleasure to the time when I shall breathe again the air of Cambridge and Boston, in which the mind may draw long breaths and be strengthened, so genial it is, and where, but for term-bills and washer-women, one would never guess that there are such things as money and money-getting in the world. And, indeed, I hold it an evidence of human depravity that there are such things, and dream (nay, it is not a dream but a prophecy) of the time when the cycle of humanity shall be completed and it shall not be said 'God makes man, and man makes money.'

"I shall expect to hear from you at Cambridge. Direct to me at Harvard University, and if I do not get your letters, 'why, the de'il is in it.'

"Tell me what you think of Jones Very and I'll tell you something about the man.

"I had almost forgotten to say how much I owe you for a large share of the pleasure of my visit to Hanover, and to remind you of our bargain, 'to live together and write books.' In the meanwhile, I trust no legal or other logicalities may obscure in us the love of the beautiful or the hatred of the Devil.

"Give my best remembrances to my namesake and every other who asks or thinks of me."

This letter is signed in Greek characters, *Danaos*, which was his college nickname. It was followed by one from Cambridge dated October 29, 1840, to Barrett, which tells the story of his work:

. . . "When I tell you what and how much I have to do, you won't think very badly of me. We have four recitations a week in Latin, of an hour each, four in Greek, three in rhetoric, three in German, three in French, and two in history, with a written exercise in Latin or Greek every week and one in German, besides a theme every fortnight. The classical lessons are long enough to satisfy the most desirous of 'getting ahead.' Thus you see we are constantly enough occupied. The faculty work us so that we may have no time for mischief —and they seem to have hit on the right plan—the college was never quieter.

"I suppose you are busy rejoicing over 'Whig Victories,' and looking forward confidently to the end of corruption and misrule. I trust you may not be disappointed, but my hope is not altogether without fear. It seems to me that the measures of this election [Harrison's] might make any one fear, though he regards them from a nearer point of view and very much more in the whirlpool than I. Shall we not go from hot to hotter? Will not succeeding elections require still greater 'excitements' and more tremendous machinery? I am aware that these things are called 'expressions of public opinion,' and 'manifestations of indignation' at bad government, but I don't believe it. As the courts say (with a slight alteration), 'God send us good deliverance.'

"You say truly that this is hallowed ground. Even the outward air of things tell you that. I thought when I first came into the college grounds on my return that I had never before seen their beauty. It was a sunny afternoon, and the trees in the yard had lost none of their summer leaves. I could almost have fancied myself in Academus. To go into

the library begets a sort of sadness. Nowhere does one feel so much the force of the old saying: 'Time is short: art is long.' As you loiter in the alcoves you cannot help thinking how few of so many books you can ever read. And isn't it the sadder thought, how few of them are worth reading?

"Some of the winter courses of lectures have been announced and make me regret the necessity of my going away to teach school. Mr. Dana the poet begins next week a course of literature. Night before last John Quincy Adams delivered an introductory lecture. He will be followed by several distinguished gentlemen. Professor Walker, a man of truly great mind, is to give twelve lectures on natural theology, and Professor Silliman, I know not how many on geology, besides others almost as attractive."

We now learn for the first time that Dana's ambition was not limited to mastering the course at Harvard. As we have seen, he had been disappointed in his arrangements for money, and had been compelled to take refuge among his relations for the purpose of economizing. But still greater economies were necessary, and in his letter to Barrett he recalls a plan they must have talked over together:

"My purpose of going to Germany grows fixed and definite. I am told that I can live there at a university for fifty dollars a year, and can earn something besides by teaching English. If at the end of my junior year, I can get hold of two or three hundred dollars, I shall go, and then, God willing, I shall write you letters from Germany. . . .

. . . "After the 27th of November till the beginning of the next term, I shall be at Scituate, Massachusetts, engaged in cultivating the tender young idea."

On November 21, 1840, he wrote to his friend Dr. Flint, at Buffalo, and while this letter covers the subjects alluded to in the letter to Barrett, it not only does so much more fully, but brings in new matter of interest,

the social experiment known as Brook Farm. Hence I give it almost in full:

"Next to the pleasure of sitting in your office and talking face to face is the pleasure of talking to you, as it were—spiritually and from a distance. And as the former is a pleasure of hope and not of definite anticipation, I may be allowed the most abundant consolation I can derive from the latter.

"I shall not attempt to give you any information about Boston or Boston society. Of the city I know little, and of the people nothing, so that I must refer you to Townsend, who can doubtless tell you everything that has happened, is happening, or is likely to happen. Of the literary world, I am little less ignorant, as I am not only kept at home, but kept too busy by college studies to read or hear much besides them. Of the scanty intelligence I have you shall have the benefit. Mr. Dana, the poet, is now delivering a course of lectures on literature, and things in general which, as knowing people who hear them say, are beautiful and profound. Mr. Dana is a disciple of Coleridge in philosophy. Dr. Walker is to deliver a course of twelve lectures on Natural Theology at the Lowell Institute. As introductory to them he will give the discourse he delivered last summer before the alumni of the university in defence of philosophy. Of this, which has had great influence hereabouts, you have perhaps seen notices. Hardly anything makes me regret the necessity for pedagogizing through the winter more than that I shall lose these lectures. Of new books I hear nothing. The next in Mr. Ripley's series of foreign literature are expected to be Neander's *Church History,* selections from Schiller's prose writing, and a volume of poems from Uhland and Korner.

"Apropos of Mr. Ripley, he leaves his church on the 1st of January as I am informed. He is to be one of a society who design to establish themselves at Concord, or somewhere in the vicinity, and introduce, among themselves at least, a new order of things. Their object is social reformation, but of the precise nature of their plans, I am ignorant. Whether the true way to reform this dead mass—society—be to separate from

it and commence without it, I am in doubt. The leaders of this movement are Mr. Emerson and Mr. Alcott, and those who are usually called Transcendentalists.

"With these men are my sympathies. I honor as much as ever their boldness, freedom, and philanthropy; but I am beginning to regard their philosophy and theology quite differently. The fact is, as I think, their system is nothing more nor less than Pantheism. Though the most esoteric of their doctrines were never communicated to me, I never felt entirely satisfied, even in the time of my belief in those of theirs which I understood. I feel now an inclination to orthodoxy, and am trying to believe the real doctrine of the trinity. Whether I shall settle down in Episcopacy, Swedenborgianism, or Goethean indifference to all religion, I know not. My only prayer is, 'God help me.'

"After all, doctor, speculative opinions and creeds are of little consequence. The great matter is to get rid of this terrible burden of sin—to bring our thoughts and lives into harmony with the law of God.

"I have looked into Swedenborg, and am looking forward to study him. My slight reading has been sufficient to show me that to profoundest insight into spiritual things, to the sublimest philosophy, he added an angelic humility and holiness. You may think I speak in superlatives, but superlatives only can be applied to Swedenborg. Besides, there is a great deal that appears to me visionary and mystical in his writings, but all this is received by men for whose intellectual strength and acuteness I have great respect. When I have read I may receive it also.

"Have you read Coleridge? If not, let me once more advise you to do so. If you can get hold of *The Friend* I advise you to read it first. You will not think the time misspent. I am now reading his *Aids to Reflection*. . . .

"I shall be for the next three months at Scituate, unless I should be turned out or suffer some other misfortune incident to school-masters. My intended flock is said to be of the most unruly and savage description, and I expect a pitched battle with them." . . .

So far as the records show, the battle did not come off. The new school-master was received with toleration if not with enthusiastic approval. After the usual struggle with the larger boys he made friends among both parents and children, earned the honor of a namesake, and taught his winter school through to the end.

On January 10, 1841, he wrote from Scituate to his friend Barrett:

. . . "As to my German fancy, it still possesses me. If I hold my present purpose and can by hook or crook get two or three hundred dollars, I shall go in a year or two and you shall have letters from Germany *ad contentum*. But where am I to get the needful? Would it were as in the days of wise King Solomon, when gold and silver were to be had for the picking up. I do not, however, give myself much trouble about these things. I am fed and clad, and am permitted to learn something, and is not this enough?

"Said Erasmus, when a student at Paris, poor and in rags, 'I will first buy Greek books and then clothes.'

"As for my present situation, it is laborious enough. My school numbers in all nearly eighty, and the average attendance is about sixty-five, most of whom are unruly sailors, who have to be managed with a strong hand. By dint of hard flogging I have got them into tolerable subjection, but still it is wearisome business. I am paid twenty-five dollars a month with my board in one family through the whole term. Of literary intelligence I have not much to tell you, for though not very far from the Emporium, I am not near enough to hear the '*on dits*' before they are fairly '*on dits!*' Dr. Channing has lately published a book on Emancipation, which is fully worthy of him, and a little book of Coleridge's, called *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, has lately been republished.

"As for my own reading, it is principally theological. I have just begun the study of Swedenborg. Next to the longing for moral freedom, for the subjection of the body to the law of the spirit, my most earnest wish is for a revelation of

the truth, for the peace and serenity of an undoubting, a truly religious faith." . . .

At the beginning of the second term, in the spring of 1841, Dana was back at college and hard at work, but the struggle was brought to a sudden end by the complete failure of his eyes. Writing to Barrett, June 7th, he says:

. . . "Be aware, however, O sagest of lawyers, that this is to be no lengthy epistle, as my eyes will not serve me for any length of time. About six weeks ago through overmuch study they gave out, since which time I have learned my lessons for the most part by having them read to me. So you see that I can offer you, dear friend, in whom I do claim an interest, the sympathies of a fellow-sufferer. I manage to do tolerably well in the recitation-room, though my favorite studies do not receive such close attention as if I could take the books into my own hand.

"As to your invitation, if it had reached me a week ago, I doubt if I could have resisted it. But one afternoon last week, when my eyes were particularly troublesome, it occurred to me that nothing would be so serviceable to them as a visit to Buffalo. Since then nothing else has been in my head. I think continually of 'old familiar faces' and friendly greetings, and imagine myself taking long walks and expounding the mysteries of spiritual philosophy to one of the most attentive listeners. I mean, moreover, to have a meeting of the Coffee Club and enjoy one more of those '*noctes cenaeque deum.*'[1]

. . . "One of my good friends, a classmate, is to lend me what funds I want, and so you see I cannot help going. . . . My next letter shall be longer. I have many things to say to you."

This visit was made to Buffalo as intended, and although his friends while there showed him every attention, and gave him much pleasure by their society, and by the out-

[1] Satires of Horace, vi. 65.

door exercise and diversions they put in his way, he was compelled to write as follows to his friend Barrett on July 17, 1841:

. . . "Nevertheless, my eyes improve so slowly that I fear I shall not be able to return to college for a year, in which case I propose to return to Massachusetts and work on a farm. Whatever I do you shall know of my location and of me."

Unfortunately, his fears proved to be well founded, and in the absence of the means with which to secure scientific treatment, or even to give his eyes the rest they absolutely required, he returned to Cambridge after a short visit to his father in Ohio. He seems to have enrolled himself for the next year in the college catalogue as a member of the junior class. Instead, however, of resuming his studies, he decided to join the Brook Farm Association which Dr. Ripley was just getting fairly under way.

Foreseeing that the complete restoration of his eyesight would require more time than he thought at first, and that meanwhile he would be straitened for money, he had addressed a letter of inquiry to Dr. Ripley from Buffalo, in July, asking the terms under which he might be permitted to join. He had previously heard the project discussed in college circles, and doubtless was sufficiently informed as to its general scope and purpose to justify specific inquiries. To this letter Ripley replied from Brook Farm, August 4, 1841, as follows:

"I am truly sorry that I cannot give you a decided answer at once in regard to your joining us this winter. At present our limited quarters are completely filled, and with the arrangements that we are now making, we shall have no more room, unless we add to our buildings this season. This we propose to do, and shall probably decide in one or two weeks. In that case, I shall rejoice to have you with us, on the condi-

tions you mention, and perhaps you would find our plans so attractive and feasible that you would be induced to complete your education at our institution, and connect yourself with us permanently. It is from the young, the energetic, the pure-minded, the self-relying, who have given no hostages to society and who expect and ask but little of it, that the life-blood of our enterprise is to proceed. So far God has prospered us. Our faith in our ideas increases with every day's experience. Our present social relations are more truly Christian and democratic than aught I know of elsewhere; and with an unflinching spirit of perseverance, self-sacrifice, and hope, it will not be long before we shall be able to live in accordance with the divinest laws of man's nature.

"If you can wait a few weeks before you are obliged to decide upon your movements, I shall be thankful; we all want you should be with us; and the moment I can see the way clear you shall hear from me again."

What precipitated his final action is not definitely known, but from the letter quoted above, it is evident that Dr. Ripley regarded him as a desirable acquisition, and therefore forced the necessary arrangements to receive him.

The only definite explanation of his own made at the time is found in a letter to his sister, dated Brook Farm, West Roxbury, September 17, 1841. It runs as follows:

. . . "I returned from Buffalo four weeks since, but as my eyes are not fully restored, although they are considerably improved, I have not returned to college. I am living with some friends who have associated themselves together for the purpose of living purely and justly and of acting from higher principles than the world recognizes. I study but little—only as much as my eyes will permit. I pay for my board by labor upon the farm and by giving instruction in whatever lies within my capacity. I thought at first of proposing to come and stay with you, but the excellent society

into which I should here be thrown, and a warm sympathy with the peculiar views of my friends, decided me to come here. I may possibly visit you in the course of the year, but even that is quite doubtful. I shall if I can afford it."

The life he was now entering upon seemed just what would be best for him. The Brook Farm Association was no charitable or philanthropic Utopia, but an honest and conscientious effort to combine co-operative labor with democratic living and intellectual improvement. There were to be no drones and no privileged members. Everybody was to work, everybody was to receive wages, and everybody was to pay for what he got. Dana was engaged to teach Greek and German, or anything else "within his capacity," and to work on the farm. With the proceeds of his teaching and of his wages for farm labor he was to pay for his living. Having had eight years' experience as clerk in a general store at Buffalo, he was regarded as a competent business man, and as such he was chosen to act as one of the trustees for the property and management of the association. From the first he became one of its most industrious and useful members. Young, ardent, and active, with no infirmity except his overstrained optic nerves, he was fit for any task which might come his way. With an extraordinary facility in languages, he was an excellent teacher, and this is certified by the fact that his pupils gave him at once the title of "Professor," which he held to the end of his connection with the association.

III

COMMUNITY LIFE

Reasons for joining Brook Farm—Secretary and trustee—Anecdote of Carl Schurz—Condition and progress of the association

In the absence of any more positive statement than that given to his sister, the exact reasons which caused Dana to join the Brook Farm Association must remain more or less a matter of speculation. He had, of course, been absorbing the "supersublimated transcendentalism" of New England from the day of his admission into Harvard College, but it has been shown from his own letters that while he was much impressed by the "boldness, freedom, and philanthropy" of Emerson and Alcott, and greatly admired the independence and unselfishness of Channing, Ripley, and the new school of thinkers, he was by no means carried away with the hope that the movement would completely revolutionize the mass of society. He was willing to do the part which fell to his lot, and did it with all his heart to the entire satisfaction of his associates, but it will not be forgotten that he was entirely without means to pay his way elsewhere, and that besides finishing his education, he was to get at Brook Farm the physical training he required, for a minimum of cost, combined with a maximum of pleasure, if not of profit. He was just beginning his twenty-third year, an age at which most young men of the day were getting through college and starting the active work of life. His ambition was for the highest education then offered by

either Europe or America, and yet he was only half-way through his college course. In short, he was seeking for truth and light, but under disadvantages which were almost insuperable. If he had any predilection at that time it was for theology, with a strong tendency to Unitarianism. He had implied a preference for Episcopacy, but finally took up Swedenborgianism, with the intimation that he might end in Goethean indifference to dogmatism of every kind. Curiously enough, as will be shown hereafter, this foreshadowed the real line of his spiritual evolution, as completely as if he had said it at the close rather than at the beginning of his career.

Although I have read all the accounts I could find of the Brook Farm experiment, I have failed to discover any word from Dana indicating complete confidence in its success. He speaks frequently and earnestly in favor of co-operation, and in praise of the able and unselfish management of Dr. Ripley. He lent his name and such credit as he had to the association, and stood by it till it was overwhelmed by disaster. He wrote much for the *Harbinger*, which was its organ, but his writings of this period indicate his aspirations rather than his settled convictions. They show that he had a practical turn of mind, and at the same time was looking to the great ends of life, rather than to the means by which they were to be reached. In view of all the circumstances of the case, which I have set forth whenever possible in his own words, I am forced to the conclusion that he connected himself with Brook Farm because it offered the best solution of his own difficulties then within reach, rather than from mature conviction that the experiment there to be tried was founded in true philosophy, political economy, and the requirements of modern society. Anxious as he was for spiritual and intellectual growth, and persistent as he had been in seeking for the truth, his opinions were by no means

settled. He was still growing and expanding, still striving to solve the riddles of life, testing all things and holding only to those he found satisfactory to his own ideals and to his own judgment. Hitherto he had been a faithful student and an omnivorous reader, to the neglect of bodily exercise, but now that his eyes had failed him, he was forced to reverse his mode of life and to give the preference to out-door work. This was perhaps the best thing for him, so long as his vision was impaired. He remained at Brook Farm altogether about five years, or from 1841 till 1846, and in order that his life there may be more fully understood, I subjoin a condensed account of the interesting experiment which was tried out at that place.

The movement which culminated in the Brook Farm Association grew primarily out of the Transcendental Club, which first attracted serious attention at Boston about the year 1840. It was sometimes called the "Symposium," but whether it ever had a regular organization or title remains uncertain even to this day. Transcendentalism has been defined as an efflorescence of Aristotelian and German philosophy. It "was a reaction against the essential conservatism of both the Unitarian and the Trinitarian forms of Puritanism, neither of which cherished any belief in the self-sufficiency of the human mind outside of revelation." [1]

The leading men in the movement were undoubtedly Emerson, Alcott, Channing, Hedge, and last, but not least, the Rev. George Ripley. Many other people of like temper and character, especially in New England, doubtless gave support to the cult, if it can be properly so designated. The subject of this memoir was undoubtedly in sympathy with the movement from the time he first began to understand its tendencies, and in order to inform

[1] *Brook Farm*, etc., by Lindsay Swift. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1900. This is the best account of Brook Farm extant.

himself at the fountain-head of its doctrines as set forth in the speculations of Kant, Spinoza, and Schelling, he early began the study of German; and by the time he left college had sufficiently mastered that language to regard himself as competent to teach it. Many years afterwards, during the war between the States, as Major-General Carl Schurz, Mr. Dana, and I were riding from Knoxville to Chattanooga, those two distinguished dialecticians beguiled the weary hours in conversation carried on indifferently in both German and English. In one of the pauses Dana remarked:

"General Schurz, you speak English with greater purity and precision than any man I have ever known."

Whereupon General Schurz rejoined:

"Well, Herr Dana" (which he pronounced with the broad a), "you speak German better than any man I ever heard speak it who was not born and educated in Germany."

The compliment in each case seems to have been fully justified.

The Brook Farm Association was undoubtedly a Transcendental movement, inasmuch as it was the outgrowth of pure idealism. The germ of the plan may have sprung from the Neuhof of Pestalozzi, who was a Transcendentalist, but Ripley always insisted that it was an evolution of "pure idealism." It was organized tentatively in the winter of 1840, at which time Ripley decided to buy the farm from which the organization took its name, and to "make himself responsible for its management and success." In April of the next year, with his wife and sister and some fifteen others, he took possession of the farm-house and out-buildings already on the estate. The first six months were spent in "getting started," and in organizing the "Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education," which constituted the special at-

traction to Dana, who joined late in September and took part in forming the articles of association, getting subscriptions to the stock, and in electing the officers of the institute.

The par value of the shares was fixed at five hundred dollars each, of which Dana took three and Ripley three; the rest, in all twenty-four shares, were taken by various others, including Nathaniel Hawthorne, in lots of one, two, and three shares. The favorite number seems to have been three. Of the entire amount subscribed only one-third was actually paid in. The property consisted of about one hundred and ninety-two acres, and was situated in the town of Roxbury, on the road leading from Dedham to Watertown, about nine miles from Boston. The purchase price was ten thousand five hundred dollars, six thousand of which was secured by a mortgage "for three years and twenty-one days." This was followed at once by a second mortgage for five thousand dollars, from which it will be seen that the place was mortgaged to start with for five hundred dollars more than it cost. Dana, although adolescent and without any capital whatever, was at once elected recording secretary, one of the three trustees, and a member of the committe of finance, and also of the committee on education.

The sole asset of the association was the farm, mortgaged at the start for more than its value, while its only dependence for actual income was the farm produce which might be grown, and the charge for tuition and board which would be furnished to such as might join the institute. I have given these details for the purpose of showing that the association, whatever might have been its merits as a business undertaking, and however unsound or visionary may have been the principles and aims on which it was founded, was foredoomed to failure, primarily for lack of capital. It was doubtless an honest and un-

selfish effort at co-operation, but it ought to have been manifest to its supporters from the first day that the association was too limited in membership, and included too few of the various interdependent vocations of life to justify the slightest hope of success. Although every member of the association was to receive pay for his work, and give pay for what he got, it ought to have been apparent that neither the farm, with its short hours of unskilled labor, nor the school with its limited attendants, could possibly earn enough to sustain the enterprise and keep it out of bankruptcy.

It is worthy of note, however, that notwithstanding its insufficiency of capital and its paucity of production, the association sustained itself and perhaps gained a little on its initial strength for about five years.

The simplicity of life and the insufficiency of the charges at Brook Farm are well indicated by a letter from George W. Curtis and his brother Burrill, belonging to a well-to-do New York family, written in a beautiful hand to Dana in March, 1842. It runs as follows:

"We received on Wednesday a letter from Mr. Ripley. He puts the price of board at three dollars, being less than the usual price by one dollar. Can you inform us whether this one dollar is to be considered by us as the compensation for our labor? If not, what is the rate of compensation? And will the difference of age between us (my brother being eighteen and I twenty) make a difference in this rate? If so, what?

"The charge for washing is five dollars and fifty cents per quarter. I presume this will not be varied, will it?

"Will you also inform us whether we are to carry with us such furniture as we need or not?

"Also, the best mode of conveyance out of Boston.

"If you are unable to reply personally, will you please drop an answer to the care of George Curtis, Esq., cashier, Bank of Commerce, New York?"

This letter must have been preceded by another, which has not been found, from these interesting brothers, for on March 18, 1842, Ripley wrote to Dana, who had evidently gone to New York on business, as follows:

. . . "We have just received an application which we are inclined to think a good deal of from two Transcendental brothers, James Burrill and George William Curtis, natives of Providence, I suppose, but now apparently residents in New York. They are young men, eighteen and twenty, with high ideal aims, and seem to seek our community, as an emblem or an attempt to realize what they yearn for. They wish to board with us, and work some three or four hours daily on such work as city-bred youth can apply themselves to. Their letter is a gem. So, too, I hope are they. I infer from what they say, though not quite distinct, that they want to see how they like us and we shall like them, and then, if all is right, become one, or rather two, of us. It is decided to receive them for three months at three dollars a week, etc. I shall write them to that effect to-morrow or next day. Pray find them out and open to them our Scripture, as you did to Greeley. They ask me to address them care of George Curtis, Bank of Commerce, New York. You can soon see whether they are of us and should be with us.

"I am glad you had the talk you did with Mrs. Child; to be sure, we can see no way open just now by which they could join us this month or the next month, or the month after, but I cannot give up the inner faith that all who truly belong with us will find their way here, as surely as the wild duck finds the south in winter, and no want of externals can prevent it. We are in a prosperous state enough now, exteriorly, I fancy; perhaps too much so. I almost dread the effect of being allowed not to struggle with poverty and other hardships: and to meet this danger we must gather in those who are disinterested and magnanimous through and through: those who see and love our idea as we do ourselves, and are willing to live for it, which is no doubt a good deal harder than to die for it, since one is a much longer process than the other.

"It is clear, I think, that we are the first to attempt the organization of a society on purely democratic, Christian principles, and though I agree with you that we are not the last hope of Divine Providence, I cannot but believe that our principles are like seed-corn for the nations—and our pea-jackets, blue frocks, and cowhide, if you please, the compost on which they are planted. At any rate, if a blue frock cannot be metamorphosed into a prophet's robe or an angel's wing, why is it any better than the tattered surplice of the priest?

"How do you spend your time in the city of cities? I can hardly fancy you a gay man about town, and I suppose you must be rather homesick by this time.

"I almost forgot to mention a very piquant visit we had from a come-outing Shaker the other day, who gave me a great deal of light on the inside of Shakerism. It is a detestable, miserly, barren aristocracy, without a grain of humanity about it. Enormous wealth is made at the expense of all manly pursuits and attainments."

One of the most interesting contemporary letters I have found in reference to this novel experiment in sociology was written by Horace Greeley to Charles A. Dana, from New York, August 29, 1842; and as it is the earliest record of their acquaintance, and besides contains an important statement of some of the dangers which threatened at the time, it is given with no omission except the address and closing paragraph, both of which were purely formal:

"I received yours of the 24th on Saturday evening, at Albany, having spent Friday and Saturday there on business. I take the very first opportunity to thank you and the community for your kindness. I shall write to Mrs. Greeley today, and presume you will hear from her directly—probably in the course of the week. I cannot doubt that she will be very happy to accept your obliging offer. She is still at Watertown, very eligibly situated in most respects, but almost

isolated from society, which in her state of virtual blindness, so far as reading and study are concerned, is a great privation indeed. With you she will find all she needs, and I hope her recovery to health and vision will be sure and rapid. It will be a great satisfaction to me in every way to know that she is with you, not only on her account, but my own, as I hope sometime to be able to steal two or three days from my distracting, harassing occupation to pay her a visit, and yours is just the place that I should like to find her.

"And now a word in answer to the suggestions in your last. I do not deny the advantage of your plan for a community of which every member shall be actuated solely by a true Christianity or a genuine manfulness—a disposition to bear others' burdens, and to count it happiness to do and suffer for the indolent and unthankful. Yet can we hope to bring the world suddenly or speedily to this frame of mind? I fear not. Well, let us suppose that in a community of one hundred persons there shall be two or three who cherish a disposition to *enjoy* and not *earn*—to be helped by others and not help others. What then? Will not their example weigh terribly on the spirits and influence the conduct of all? Will not the spirit of self-denial in A be sorely tried by seeing that the only effect of its exercise is to confirm B in selfishness, indolence, and uselessness? Nay, more: Is not the world now filled with people who would think themselves valuable members of a community while doing little or nothing for its welfare and employing the time of two members each in their own personal service? I think I have known such. Hence my fear for your system—that it is adapted only to angelic natures, and that the entrance of one serpent would be as fatal as in Eden of old. I think Fourier's system avoids this danger, by having a rampart of exact justice behind that of philanthropy. With this no one will be tempted to say—why shall I labor, when another in wanton idleness consumes the product? Why shall I assume unpleasant functions, when others avoid them and in secret laugh at my easy good-nature?

"I know you will pardon my frankness and pertinacity; for you know that my interest in the subject is almost painful.

I have encountered much opposition and ridicule on account of what I have published and the little I have written in favor of association, and have shocked the prejudices of many worthy friends, some of whom have stopped my paper on account of this, and all been chilled in their friendship by my unyielding *fanaticism*. All this is nothing: but the failure of *your* experiment would be something. My world would have a darker sky than now. Understand, then, my friend, that I would not have you change anything which works well with you (for I am an ingrain conservative as well as radical), but should circumstances of discouragement ever arise, I would have you prepared to meet and overcome them, readily and signally. Do not let anything daunt you, much less destroy. I hear awful predictions of your overthrow, at which I trust *you* smile, but which to a distant friend may well cause some little anxiety. I hope I shall yet live to see the infidels confounded — no, converted. Do you ever read that quaint, devout old record by Ezra of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem?

"I am lecturing you too freely. Enough."

But this wise and pathetic letter, although it points out weaknesses in the association which must have destroyed it ultimately, even if the original insufficiency of capital had not proved to be fatal, it did not, so far as can now be discovered, discourage those who had practical charge of the management. Dana, in whom we are principally interested, went sturdily about his daily task. When scholars began to come to the institute, he taught, and taught well, whether the lessons were in Greek, German, or Spanish. When he had no scholars, he worked on the farm at whatever came handiest, but seems to have preferred feeding and milking the cows and looking after the dairy. When neither of these departments claimed his attention, he wrote for the *Dial*, and afterwards for the *Harbinger*, or delivered lectures and talks wherever he had an audience. He was cheery and alert in his tasks. In

fact, he was regarded, because of his clerical experience, as a sort of business expert and manager, and as such avoided no duty and shirked no responsibility.

It should be remembered that the association was a joint-stock, not an incorporated, company. Every person who held one or more shares was considered a member, and was allowed one vote for each share. The stock was non-assessable. The property was vested in and held by four trustees. The interest on the stock was to be paid in certificates of stock, although any holder, if he preferred, might have the amount of interest due him from any unappropriated cash on hand. But, as might have been expected, mortgages grew faster than cash in the treasury. After three years' experience, and much discussion, it was decided to convert the association into a "Phalanx," in accordance with the system of Fourier, whose writings were at that time attracting a good deal of attention in both Europe and America. But this was a change in name rather than a change in character. Withal, much had been said and written about the Brook Farm community. Its fame had been widely spread. Many interesting and earnest men and women who favored plain living and high thinking had given it their approval and support, and a still larger number were watching it with hopeful attention. Visitors poured in from various parts of the country, and especially from New England. They were received with boundless hospitality and a hearty welcome. Food and entertainment were at first furnished free of charge to all important visitors; but when it is remembered that as many as four thousand visitors were registered in one year, it becomes apparent that this alone would in the end certainly bankrupt the concern no matter how successful it might be otherwise. Hence it was finally decided to make a minimum charge for board and lodging furnished to transient visit-

ors. But neither this economy nor new subscriptions to the stock could save the experiment. Still its expenses increased, the deficit grew, and a fourth mortgage was negotiated and placed upon the property. It should be said in fairness, however, that the community had continued to grow till it had become too numerous for the original accommodations, and hence it was necessary to build a larger, more commodious, and better arranged house, which under the new organization was to be known as the "Phalanstery." Its estimated cost was about ten thousand dollars, of which about seven thousand dollars had been raised on stock, when, through carelessness of the carpenters, the house, which was approaching completion, took fire and was totally destroyed. This occurred on the night of March 3, 1846, and proved to be a disaster from the effects of which it was impossible to rescue the association. No further stock could be sold, and while Ripley and his associates stood up bravely for a few months longer, during which Ripley completed the sacrifice of his library to pay the final debts, which amounted after all to less than a thousand dollars, the place was closed, and the community was scattered to take up less ideal but more practical pursuits in the greater world about them.

The farm was a beautiful one, admirably adapted to dairy purposes. It had been skilfully and honestly managed by an expert farmer. The old farm-house, romantically designated as "The Hive," with its subsidiary buildings, "The Cottage," "The Eyrie," and the stables were prettily situated, and the whole place, with its collection of clever men and charming women, was most attractive. As a consequence, the farm grew in value from the start, and when it was sold, in 1849, it brought, at public auction, nineteen thousand one hundred and fifty dollars, or a sum sufficient to pay off all the mortgages, executions, and

accumulated interest, and leave a clear balance of seventeen hundred and four dollars to be applied to other claims against the "Phalanx." Thus it is seen that in the end the Brook Farm Association, as well as its successor, the Brook Farm Phalanx, went out of business with only a trifling loss. This, as before stated, was assumed and paid by Dr. Ripley, and in this manner the business honor of all concerned was saved from reproach. The farm today belongs to the Association of the Evangelical Lutheran Church for Works of Mercy, and is used as a shelter for homeless children.

The society gathered there under the auspices of Dr. Ripley was a most interesting one. It counted among its most distinguished members Hawthorne, the author of the *Blithedale Romance*, which has been styled "The Epic of Brook Farm";[1] George William Curtis and his brother; Margaret Fuller; the Macdaniel family; John S. Dwight; J. T. Codman; Albert Brisbane; and a number of lesser lights who have disappeared from the annals of the times. Although the organization doubtless owed much to the influence of Emerson and W. H. Channing, it is a noteworthy circumstance that while they gave it their countenance and moral support neither ever formally became a member.

Hawthorne, who was one of the earliest subscribers, severed his relations with the association by a letter on October 17, 1842, addressed to Dana as secretary. It runs as follows:

"I ought, some time ago, to have tendered my resignation as an associate of the Brook Farm Institute, but I have been unwilling to feel myself entirely disconnected with you. As I can see but little prospect, however, of returning to you, it becomes proper for me now to take the final step. But no

[1] *Brook Farm*, etc., by Lindsay Swift, p. 171. The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York.

longer a brother of your band, I shall always take the warmest interest in your progress, and shall heartily rejoice at your success—of which I can see no reasonable doubt."

It is proper to add that the organization in both of its forms was based strictly on the principles of mutual association, from which it never departed. It believed heartily in co-operation but never became in the slightest degree communistic. It never indulged in the delusion that each member should have an equal profit in the earnings and advantages of the association, but held to the last that these should be divided according to the respective interests of the share-holders. It never opened its doors to the world at large, but selected its members from the best of those asking to be admitted. Its plan was to pay each member fairly for his work, and charge a fair price for what each person got. Manifestly a society of this sort might continue to flourish so long as it chose its members with proper care, sold its stock for a sufficiently high price, and had a membership sufficiently large to include all the necessary human pursuits, with a market of outsiders sufficiently near to buy its surplus products at remunerative prices. Whatever may have been the merits or demerits of the plan on which the association was founded, and however fanciful may have been its ideals, with its "groups and phalanxes," its "hives and eyries," its membership included many of the highest and brightest minds of the day. "Their character was approved." They lived in the ordinary privacy, except that they boarded together and spent their evenings in talk, music, and dancing, upon which there was no bar. They were idealists who hoped to evolve a superior form of society, but there was too little capital and not enough profitable work to insure the success of their interesting experiment.

Such readers as may desire to know more about the detail of this novel but Utopian association, will find an interesting account of it in Lindsay Swift's *Brook Farm*, from which what I have said in this narrative has been largely drawn.

Whatever may have been its influence on others, it was undoubtedly of substantial advantage to Charles A. Dana. This is clearly shown not only by his subsequent career, but by the following verbal quotation from Mr. Swift's book, for which I desire to express my acknowledgments to the author and to his publishers, the Macmillan Company:

"Dana seems not to have defied worldly custom either in the matter of blouses or unusual hair; in fact, he was not especially responsive to the little caprices of his fellows, and seldom joined in the merriment, but was always on hand for the serious affairs, having been made a trustee soon after his arrival. He not only worked and taught well, but sang well, and was bass in a choir which, according to Arthur Sumner, sang a 'Kyrie Eleison' night and day. 'It seems to me,' adds Sumner, 'that they sang it rather often.' One admirable bit of training for his future profession Dana acquired through his connection with the *Harbinger*, to which he was a frequent contributor. Many of his articles were youthful and imitative—hardly better than any well-brought-up young fellow might produce. The mannerisms of the sturdy English reviewing of the day sat heavily upon him, and he was constantly dismissing the victims of his disapproval with the familiar congé of the British quarterlies. Short poems and literary notices formed the major part of his work, but it is unnecessary to particularize the amount or quality of what he did. It was all excellent practice. Poe, Cooper, and Anthon were his youthful hatreds.

"According to Colonel Higginson, the 'Professor' was 'the best all-round man at Brook Farm, but was held not to be quite so zealous or unselfish for the faith as were some of the others,' though his speeches in Boston and elsewhere were

most effective. Dana was at that time a very young man, with the faults, but with all the splendor and promise, of youth. No one has criticised the fidelity of his work at the school, and no one, not excepting Ripley, spoke more fervidly than Dana in the cause of association. He was wise, if not wholly ingenuous, for he had the sagacity, at the meeting held in December, 1843, to advocate a continuance of associationism for Brook Farm, while the followers of Brisbane, bringer of huge programmes and unnumbered woes, proclaimed the virtues of modified Fourierism. Dana lost the toss, but did not forsake the field. On the contrary, even after the flames of the Phalanstery swept up vortically the hopes of five years, he still valiantly preached the faith delivered to the saints.

"As a mature man the great editor found so few causes on which he could lavish his vanishing enthusiasm that it is a pleasure to recall his scrupulous adhesion to the doctrines of association until those doctrines became normally merged into vaster and more immediate problems. His name ranks in importance with Orvis and Allen as a lecturer, although he probably did not, so often as they, address the public. But when he talked he was influential. On the platform Dana had no especial fluency, but he did have the compensating graces of frankness and a natural manner. On one occasion he defended, and most honestly, ambition as 'the greatest of the four social passions.' This it was, the speaker argued, which brought the associates together in order to better social conditions. It corresponds to the seventh note of music, requiring for completeness the striking of the eighth note, which belongs also to the octave beyond. To strike these notes is to arrive at a final object, the higher unity. Noble and straightforward sentiments, but born, one would hardly think, of that 'mordaunt and luminous spirit,' as Dana was afterwards remembered. In Dana, however, there were memories, some of them tender, for these sincerer days. Dana, who wore no emotions on his sleeve, never forgot, and never in word, however much in conduct, repudiated Brook Farm. No abler or more sympathetic tribute has ever been paid to the association than was spoken by him at the Univer-

sity of Michigan on January 21, 1895. The charm of the life, the causes of failure, his own experiences, are all candidly and gracefully told. Mr. Ripley is mentioned with respect and cordiality. Where the treasure is there will the heart be also. Charles Dana, who laughed at much which some men hold dear, never vilipended his own experience at Brook Farm, though it is a matter of conjecture whether he retained faith in any particular reform, social or political. He took pains in this lecture to deny that there was any communism in the experiment. Nothing in his nature would have responded to that principle. The real trouble at Brook Farm to him was evident: 'it didn't pay'; but he insisted that the breaking up was regretted by all who shared the life there. He severed his own connection soon after the fire, at which he did not chance to be present, and secured work in Boston on the *Chronotype* at five dollars a week."

But returning to the life at Brook Farm, which had such an important bearing upon the development of Dana's character, let me quote further from his correspondence with Dr. Ripley. This is necessarily occasional because they were separated but seldom. Both stuck closely to the work they had undertaken. Dana was, however, occasionally absent on business, and during the trip to New York, already alluded to, Ripley wrote, April 10, 1842, as follows:

"The best news I have heard for some time is that you will be with us next Sunday, for though no one, I suppose, is essential to the life of another, we miss you sadly at every turn, and it hardly seems as if our Brook ran as pleasantly as usual while you are not here. Since Braddy left us, the boys have had 'little Latin and less Greek,' that is to say, none at all of either, except regular doses in the grammar. We are going on famously in algebra, however; I like to teach it and the boys take hold of it well: to say nothing of a large class—boys and girls, Minot and all, two evenings in the week. Salisbury

came the day we expected him: he is 'a sweet youth and tall,' greatly addicted to study and a prime hand with the kine. He takes the place of our worthy Mr. Dunbar, with whom, gracious mercy! we parted friendly two or three weeks ago. Hill has arrived, and is perched up in the new house, which perhaps you know we have christened the 'Eyrey': because I suppose, there are no eagles there, only doves and such poultry. Nobody else, I believe, has come; not even my lover Larned, from whom I hope not much.

"I am glad you are seeing all sorts of people, and talking to some of them about our wild notions. Tell me all you know of the Curtises: do they mean to join us by-and-by, or come they merely as spectators? What corner or crevice can we find for Mrs. Greeley: I see not: perhaps, we can make one before the summer is over. At Avery's I am sure, she would be homesick: besides, we should scarcely see her there, or she us. We are very glad to get the *Tribune* every week, as we do from Mr. Greeley: it is as pleasant an avenue as we could have wherewith to communicate with the Babel world it comes from.

"One bad thing alone belongs to your coming back, we sha'n't get any letters from you: we shall miss them so much that you will have to write us now and then, and send your letters from house to house."

Dana's tastes and inclinations during his connection with Brook Farm, while primarily occupied in completing his education according to his preconceived notions, naturally led him to write for such journals as would pay him for his contributions. As the *Dial* at first, and the *Harbinger* afterwards, were the official organs of the association, he by preference wrote much for them, but as he covered a multitude of subjects, it would be difficult to summarize what he said. While it was thoughtful, vigorous, and virile, it was like much which goes to make up the sum of our daily lives, of but little permanent value. It broadened and strengthened his mind and cultivated

his style, which became steadily more practical and direct and less fanciful and florid. The life of actual labor combined with his intellectual pursuits had strengthened his body, improved his eyesight, and increased his confidence in himself, and this was of the first importance to him at least.

The *Harbinger* was published for about two years, beginning in June, 1845. It was edited mainly by Dr. Ripley; but in this as in everything else Dana seems to have been his principal assistant and understudy. It was issued both in Boston and New York, and while Curtis, Cranch, Lowell, Dwight, Osborne Macdaniel, and many others, were regular or occasional writers, Dana was evidently the principal one. In the first three volumes his activity is particularly noticeable. He wrote editorials, essays, book reviews, poems, and bright, clever notes on many subjects. To the fourth volume, published mostly after Dana had married and removed to New York, he also appears as a contributor, but his articles were necessarily less numerous. In his earlier contributions he frequently and fully sets forth the principles on which the association was founded, and to those he did not fail to add elaborate statements of his own views on universal association and the regeneration of society.

His first editorial leader for the *Harbinger* appears to have been published in June, 1845, and was on the subject of "Commerce." While the limits of this memoir will not permit the quotation of this entire article, its conclusion is so pertinent to existing conditions that I give it as follows:

. . . "From intimate acquaintance of many years with commercial life, and from careful observation of both large and small commercial transactions, we are constrained to believe that in commerce absolute and complete honesty, integral

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Christian honesty, is impossible. This is a broad and strong assertion, but we appeal to the inmost consciousness of those of our readers who are acquainted with the matter if it be not true. There was truth and justice in the action of the Saviour, when he drove the merchants out of the temple, telling them they had made it a den of thieves. Modern commerce wears a more decent coat, perhaps, but underneath it is but little altered. Whatever exceptions we may find, all will admit that its constant tendency is to destroy individual integrity. Is not this enough to condemn civilized commerce, and incite us to substitute for it a system of guarantees and security, by removing commerce entirely from the grasp of individual selfishness? The method of doing this with security and advantage is known to us; we shall hereafter take occasion to bring it forward."

So far as I am able to ascertain, Dana did not bring forward his method of freeing commerce from the grasp of individual selfishness. Perhaps, after all, he came to the conclusion that it was a subject beyond his powers, though he may have included his treatment of it in his disquisitions upon the scope and advantages of "Universal Association," as found in various numbers of the *Harbinger*.

In a review of Downing's *Fruit and Fruit Trees of America*, he reached a conclusion to which but few people of the present day will object. It runs as follows:

"There are many in the list of gentlemen whose aid he (Downing) acknowledges which bring before us golden and purple recollections, visions of fruits which in themselves are arguments enough against the doctrine that the earth is accursed and the mother of no good thing. If any man believe that social harmony is impossible we will agree to silence his most obstinate assertions with some of the pears named in Mr. Downing's catalogue. No one whose soul such flavors had ever approached could refuse to assent to the most glowing anticipations of the Future of Mankind."

In another article he condemned Poe's Tales, then attracting wide attention, as "clumsily contrived, unnatural, and every way in bad taste," while in still another he commends Martin Farquhar Tupper's "Crock of Gold" as a poem which

"abounds in beautiful passages, is written in a nervous, straightforward style, is free from sentimentalism, and shows that the author is a man of good sense as the world goes, besides something more."

It is curious to note in passing how the world, and Dana himself for that matter, have reversed both of these opinions, and yet it took many years to do it. As given here they show how completely a man's judgment may be reversed by the lapse of time.

Among other notable articles which Dana contributed to the *Harbinger* is one on the universality of humbug, another combating the idea that interest on capital is wrong, and a third on "Irish Repeal."

Whatever we way conclude as to the correctness of the sentiments quoted above, we must admit that they are expressed in clear and vigorous prose, which it would be difficult to improve. But our aspiring writer did not content himself with prose. Indeed, the family tradition is that, under the guidance of a favorite aunt, he began to write poetry at the early age of eight. Some of his lines are still occasionally quoted by his daughters. After his connection was made with Brook Farm he resumed the practice, and as early as April, 1842, contributed to the *Dial* a poem of fifteen lines entitled "Herzliebste." This was followed in July by one of fourteen lines on "Eternity." The next year he wrote for the same paper "Manfulness" and "Via Sacra." In 1844 he wrote a touching tribute of sixteen lines to his friend Robert Bartlett, who had been reported as dead, also another to

"Edelfrida." Throughout the year 1845 his muse seems to have been more prolific, for he published in the *Harbinger* "Auf Wiedersehen," which was followed by a hymn, "Les Attractions sont Proportionelle aux Destinés" after Novalis, "Ad Arma," "The Secret" (from the German of Seidl), "The Beauty of the Earth" (from the German of Ruchert), "Mutual Longing" (from the German of Heine), "To the Moon (from the German of Holty). The next year, 1846, he published the "Bankrupt," "Erotis," "Patience" (from the German of Spitta), "The Question" (from the German of Heine), and "Memnon." Of these "Erotis" is the longest and "Memnon" the best. Those of the last two years were all published in the *Harbinger*, from which they obtained some circulation, but I cannot learn that any of them outlived the year of its birth, or passed permanently into the literature of the period. Indeed, there is one good reason to believe that the author finally condemned them himself, for he enshrined none of them in the *American Household Book of Poetry*, a well-known and widely circulated book of the best short poems in the language, of which he was the compiler. He doubtless gave his own poetic children every consideration to which he thought they were entitled, as they were found among his personal effects clearly transcribed, and done up ready for the printer, but several of them had been carefully crossed out with the blue pencil from the pages on which they were copied at the date of their production. It is proper to say, however, that in 1885 Mr. Dana himself selected three of these early poems to appear in a volume entitled *Representative Poems of Living Poets*, compiled by Miss Jeannette L. Gilder, and published in 1886. Mr. Dana's selections were "Eternity," "Herzliebste," and "Manfulness." As fair specimens of the whole, I call attention to the three which follow:

"VIA SACRA

"Slowly along the crowded street I go,
Marking with reverent look each passer's face,
Seeking, and not in vain, in each to trace
That primal soul whereof he is the show.
For here still move, by many eyes unseen,
The blessed gods that erst Olympus kept;
Through every guise these lofty forms serene
Declare the all-holding Life hath never slept;
But known each thrill that in man's heart hath been,
And every tear that his sad eyes have wept;
Alas for us! the heavenly visitants—
We greet them still as most unwelcome guests,
Answering their smile with hateful looks askance,
Their sacred speech with foolish, bitter jests:
But oh! what is it to imperial Jove
That this poor world refuses all his love?"

"TO R. B.[1]

"Beloved friend! they say that thou are dead,
Nor shall our asking eyes behold thee more,
Save in the company of the fair and dread,
Along the radiant and immortal shore,
Whither thy face was turned for evermore,
Thou wert a pilgrim towards the True and Real,
Never forgetful of that infinite goal;
Salient, electrical, thy weariless soul,
To every faintest vision always leal,
Ever midst those phantoms made its world ideal.
And so thou hast a most perennial fame,
Though from the earth thy name should perish quite:
When the dear sun sinks golden whence he came,
The gloom, else cheerless, hath not lost his light;
So in our lives impulses born of thine,
Like fireside stars across the night shall shine."

[1] Robert Bartlett.

"MANFULNESS

"Dear, noble soul, wisely thy lot thou bearest;
For, like a god toiling in earthly slavery,
Fronting thy sad fate with a joyous bravery,
Each darker day a sunnier mien thou wearest.
No grief can touch thy sweet and spiritual smile;
No pain is keen enough that it has power
Over thy childlike love, that all the while
Upon this cold earth builds its heavenly bower;
And thus with thee bright angels make their dwelling,
Bringing thee stores of strength where no man knoweth;
The ocean-stream from God's heart ever swelling,
That forth through each least thing in Nature goeth,
In thee, oh, truest Hero, deeper floweth:—
With joy I bathe, and many souls beside
Feel a new life in the celestial tide."

These poems show that Dana was going through a period of mental activity and development in which every faculty was cultivated to the highest degree by study, reflection, and composition. Surely and steadily the idealist and dreamer was laying down his illusions and taking up the methods of a practical business-man. He was then, and remained throughout his life, devoted to idealism, poetry, and romance, but never after that time did he allow either to lead him away from the practical duties of the hour.

It is worthy of passing notice that Dana for a part of this period also kept a book of quotations which abounds in extracts from Coleridge, Longfellow, Wordsworth, Carlyle, Motherwell, Cousin, Considerant, Fourier, Schiller, Goethe, Spinoza, Heine, Herman, Kepler, Bruno, Novalis, Böhme, Swedenborg, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Thucydides, Euripides, and Sallust. It is still more worthy of notice that they were made always in the script and language in which they were written, whether it was English, Ger-

man, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Danish, Latin, or Greek. These extracts consist of lofty thoughts and sentiments, which necessarily touched responsive chords in his own soul, or else they would not have been gathered. They are of interest not only because of the sentiments and principles they inculcate, but because they show a growing familiarity on the part of the student with both ancient and modern literature.

From the foregoing statement it is evident that the five years Dana passed at Brook Farm with the friends he loved had gone far to prepare him for the battle of life. They brought him many benefits for which he always remained grateful, but the greatest benefit and blessing which it brought him was his life partner and wife. Among the clever and interesting people gathered there were the Macdaniel family, consisting of a widowed mother with her three children, one son and two daughters. They were from Maryland, where the family was long settled. They brought with them an air of refinement which always characterized them. The youngest member of the family was Eunice, an attractive and spirited girl, with black and sparkling eyes, and a slight but erect and energetic figure. If her mind had dwelt in the form of a man, it must have been regarded as a notable one. It impelled her to do her full part not only as a member of the community, but in the long and beautiful life to which it introduced her as a wife and mother. During her stay at Brook Farm, she is said to have had serious intentions of becoming an actress, but notwithstanding this somewhat romantic purpose, she was not unmindful of the practical affairs of life, and became an efficient member of the housekeepers' group. Whether from the experience she gained in that way, or from her natural aptitudes, she became famous in her married life as one of the most accomplished housewives of her time. She was from the

first a self-centred person who knew her own powers, and formed her own opinions. In due time she won the admiration of Charles Dana, who offered her his heart and hand with all his worldly goods. As has been seen, he was far from rich, but this was no bar. Fortunately even in those days money counted for little, while character was regarded as a matter of prime importance. They were married at 39 Walker Street, New York, on March 2, 1846. This, it should be noted, was the day before the Phalanstery was burned, and satisfactorily accounts for the fact that Dana was not at the fire. With their lives linked by the sacred ties of husband and wife, and having as yet no permanent home, they were literally compelled to go forth into the world to meet such fortune as life had in store for them.

Dana is described at that time as

"a handsome man, not after the graceful type of the Curtises, but masculine, yet so slender as to seem tall. He had a firm, expressive face, regular and clear-cut, a scholar's forehead, auburn hair, and a full beard. Strong in mind and general physique, he conveyed the impression of force, whether he moved or spoke. In his old age he preserved a look of virility and determination, though hardheadedness clearly predominated over graciousness. He was, at Brook Farm, kindly mannered, and gave a pleasant impression to those who met him, while a natural dignity kept him from many of the extravagances into which some of the others easily fell. He showed a taste for the farm-work, which later, when success gave opportunity, grew into a fondness for live-stock and all the accompaniments of a country life. An admirable nervous and muscular strength explains much of Dana's capacity for successful work."[1]

The newly wedded couple continued their connection for a few months with Brook Farm, and Dana did all he

[1] Swift, *Brook Farm*, pp. 151, 152.

could to sustain the sinking hearts of his associates, but he could not conceal from himself, at least, that the end had come. Some two years before he had made an arrangement to write for the Boston *Daily Chronotype* for four dollars per week, and now that Brook Farm had failed him, this small weekly compensation was his main dependence. With the expense of a young wife added to his own it was pitifully inadequate. He doubtless contributed "pot-boilers" to other journals, but withal he was face to face with the necessity for a new departure, and made haste to abandon idealism and associationism for the more practical if less romantic struggle that was before him.

After the failure of Brook Farm had deprived Dana of steady occupation, he sought and obtained closer relations with the *Chronotype*, and was formally employed by its owner and editor, Elizur Wright, to read the exchanges, edit the news, and make himself generally useful. It was also understood that during Wright's absence Dana should act as editor, but all without additional compensation. The newspaper was an orthodox publication, and was therefore a great favorite with the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts. As an evidence of the young writer's independence of thought, and of his radical departure from the gloomy doctrines of Calvin, as well, perhaps, as an instance of his growing sense of humor, Wright used to relate the following anecdote with evident satisfaction. On the occasion of a temporary absence from the city his paper came out "mighty strong against hell," to the astonishment of the subscribers as well as of the responsible editor. In referring to this incident years after Dana had come to be a great editor, Mr. Wright said it gave him a great deal of trouble at the time, as it obliged him to write a personal letter to every Congregational minister in Massachusetts, and to many of the deacons

besides, explaining that the paper's apparent change of doctrinal attitude was due to no change of faith on his own part, but to the fact that it had been left temporarily in charge of "a young man without journalistic experience."

It has been seen that Dana had already made the acquaintance of Horace Greeley, who was fast becoming, with his *Tribune* and his facile pen, one of the most influential men in the country. It has been seen too that Greeley and his wife were sympathetic with Brook Farm, and especially so with its doctrines and plans. This sympathy was doubtless the initial influence which led to Dana's connection with the *Tribune*, and to the long personal and professional intimacy which grew up between these remarkable men.

As a matter of interest, I have added in an appendix[1] the address on Brook Farm already mentioned, which was delivered at the University of Michigan in January, 1895. So far as the comparatively brief compass of this address permits, it is probably the most enlightening exposition of the society, its aims and character.

[1] Page 517.

IV

IN ACTIVE JOURNALISM

City editor New York *Tribune* — Visits Europe as correspondent — Revolution of 1848—Provisional government of France—Sympathizes with the people — Louis Napoleon a danger to the republic — The policy and duty of France

As can well be imagined, Dana was not long in reaching the conclusion that the journalistic field of Boston was not likely to afford him a sufficient opportunity for the exercise of his talents or to yield him a sufficient income for his growing necessities. Accordingly he decided, late in 1846, to remove to New York, and through Horace Greeley, whose acquaintance he had made five years before, he secured employment as city editor of the *Tribune* at ten dollars per week to start with He began work in his new position in February, 1847, but before the year was out he realized that his income was insufficient and felt compelled to strike for a higher salary. Inasmuch as he had not only shown his usefulness, but had attracted attention to himself as a journalist of unusual talents, Greeley promptly yielded, and advanced his assistant's pay to fourteen dollars per week, while his own as chief editor and proprietor was only a dollar more. After this advance Dana gradually became completely absorbed in his work on the *Tribune*, and was therefore forced to terminate his engagements with other newspapers.

Just what articles he wrote at first for the *Tribune*, or what class he preferred to write, is not known, but as he was full of energy, exceedingly intelligent, and widely

read for so young a man, it may be fairly assumed that he took a hand in every important question before the public. As he was in later days often heard to declare, he had already come to regard the world as a "mighty interesting place," and nothing which concerned it at large, or his own country in particular, could well be a matter of indifference to him.

It had been a desire of Dana's during the whole of his student life to travel in Europe, especially in Germany. He was greatly interested in the language, literature, and philosophy of that country, and wished above all things to broaden his acquaintance with them. Fortunately the political discussions which began in 1847, culminated in 1848, and finally ended nearly a quarter of a century later in a federated German empire, afforded him the opportunity he was so anxiously looking for. The wish to go abroad was strengthened by the fact that a revolution had broken out in France, which ended in the expulsion of Louis Philippe and the establishment of a republic with Louis Napoleon as president. In view of this troubled condition of affairs, his desire to visit Europe became irresistible. He therefore told Greeley frankly he wanted to go. The interview that took place was related by him many years afterwards substantially as follows:

"Greeley said that would be no use, as I did not know anything about European matters, and would have to learn everything before I could write anything worth while. Then I asked him how much he would give me for a letter a week. He said ten dollars. On this I went, about the middle of the year, and wrote one letter a week to the *Tribune* for ten, one to McMichael's *Philadelphia American* for ten, one to the New York *Commercial Advertiser* for ten, one for the *Harbinger* at five, and one for the *Chronotype* at five. That gave me forty dollars a week for five letters till the *Chronotype* went up, and then I had thirty-five. On this I lived in Europe

nearly eight months, saw plenty of revolutions, supported myself there and my family here in New York, and came home only sixty-three dollars out for the whole trip."

But this is not all. While the trip was in every way a financial and intellectual success, it is believed that although the letters written to the various journals on his list were not absolutely identical, they constituted the first syndicated correspondence ever contracted for by any one either in Europe or America. Perhaps nothing in Dana's career ever showed more clearly his practical sense, or bore stronger evidence as to his natural genius for journalism, which, except during the war between the States, was to be his occupation to the end of his life.

That Dana was greatly interested at that time in the improvement of the social and economic condition of the masses of mankind, and lost no opportunity to gather information bearing on the subject, is shown by both his correspondence with the *Tribune* and the editorials which he wrote for that journal after his return. His earliest sympathies in that direction were clearly indicated by his connection with the Brook Farm Association, and by his writings for the *Harbinger* and *Chronotype*. But there is reason to believe that his observations abroad, especially of the selfishness, violence, and chicanery of the actual leaders, early began to shake his faith in theories however plausible, and to direct his attention to the motives and character of men as the largest factor in human affairs. It is certain that during his entire stay in Europe he kept a close watch on the leading men as well as on the drift of public affairs, especially in France. He formed definite and not always favorable opinions about those who were most conspicuous. During the summer of 1848 Louis Napoleon made his first appearance as a claimant for public favor, and although he made ample protestations

of patriotism and fidelity, Dana as early as December of that year did not hesitate to declare that he had "no faith in the sincerity of Louis Napoleon's adherence to the republic," and expressed the belief that "he would rather be emperor than president." In this epigrammatic opinion Dana's insight had made him prophetic, while in others dealing with more complicated subjects, as for instance in the expression which he credits to "a shrewd observer," that "the ultimate triumph of socialism is certain," he was at least premature.

Dana's first letter from Paris was written June 29, 1848, and gives a graphic account of the contest which was raging in the streets between the temporary government, representing the conservative interests of society, and the proletariat, composed of the working-men who wanted better wages and conditions, assisted by the professional agitators, who wanted notoriety or social change. It will be recalled that Louis Philippe had been deposed and driven out early in the year, the monarchy had been replaced by the republic, and General Cavaignac had been called to the head of the provisional government with absolute authority to restore and maintain peace. The government had undertaken to find work for the unemployed in and about Paris, but as it had neither workshops nor business organizations, neither factories nor machinery, and was without knowledge of what the public stood in need, it was ignorant of what to produce or how to find a market for it. In pursuance of its benevolent but fatuous policy, the workmen were in one instance set to work wheeling earth from one side of the river to the other, and when they had no more room in which to pile it up, they were required to wheel it back to the place from which they took it. In another they were sent to the country with the promise that work would be ready for them, but the country authorities, having no work for

strangers, made haste to send them back to the city. Production and distribution were badly disorganized. The private workshops were closed; the numbers of the unemployed increased till the government found itself at one time with more than one hundred thousand able-bodied idle men on hand. It offered to find places for them in the army, with food and clothing, but this was by no means satisfactory. Many wanted work which would enable them to support their families, while many wanted themselves and families supported without work. The bourgeoisie, who were, then as now, the well-to-do middle class, having capital, factories, and shops, were disgusted with the idleness, confusion, and violence which prevailed, and while it naturally disapproved of the government's well-meant but misdirected efforts to find work for the unemployed, gave ready and effective support to its efforts to suppress insurrection and violence. Indeed, the conservatives of every class became so incensed at the idleness which prevailed on every hand that they openly favored the extermination of the hungry and insurgent proletariat. The government, although established by the revolution, with absolute control of the army, gathered about itself all the elements of conservatism, the royalists, the imperialists, the constitutional republicans, the conservative socialists, and the non-partisan bourgeoisie, and made common cause against the insurgents, killing in a few days as many as ten or twelve thousand.

The French government estimated the killed at fully thirty-six thousand, but Dana, after personal investigation, came to the conclusion that twelve thousand would cover the entire number. During the first ten days of his stay in the distracted city he was constantly on the go, visiting the scenes of interest. Soon after his arrival he was himself subjected to a domiciliary visit, during which he was severely lectured for his slowness in opening his

door to the soldiers, and their amiability was not increased by the discovery of an improved gunlock which he had taken over in his baggage to oblige a friend. After a prolonged parley he succeeded in satisfying his suspicious visitors that he was really an American and not a conspirator. He describes most graphically what he saw of the actual insurrection, but as soon as order was restored he devoted himself to the study of what the revolution meant, what had brought it about, and what its objects were. To this end he visited the Assembly, and the bureaus of government where discussions were carried on, and took ample notes of all he saw and heard. His first letter gives a comprehensive account of the course adopted by General Cavaignac, M. Thiers, M. Carnot, M. Considerant, M. Walewski, and many others, who afterwards became prominent or disappeared entirely from public life. He also describes the part played by the working-classes and the conservatives, the stagnation of trade and manufactures, the violence of class hatred, the intense activity of the leading journals, and the re-establishment of social order on a progressive and permanent basis. All this is set forth with unusual lucidity and vigor.

Another letter treats of the condition of the working-classes, and the plans under consideration for their amelioration as set forth in the discussions which took place in the Assembly, where, among other things, it was promised to encourage associations of workmen with their former employers, by allowing them to undertake jobs on the public works without giving bonds, as was required from individual contractors. This proposition was debated with "agitation." Many amendments were proposed, and much was said about the elevation of the laborer and his emancipation from the wage system. The miseries of these people and the selfishness of the middle classes were described at large. The Assembly devoted itself with deep

attention to the subject, and seemed to feel the need of doing something effective, to make the lot of the laborers more tolerable and their life more like the life of human beings.

. . . "'Still,' the writer adds, 'there is a long way between such transient emotions and the perception of the fact that the emancipation of labor is the present especial duty and destiny of this nation, and that it depends on the wealthy to say whether it is to be done peacefully and with benefit to all, or whether by refusing to do it they will bring on a new and more desperate phase of the revolution.'"

No one can read this letter without perceiving that the French people were deeply moved by the disarrangement of economic conditions which everywhere prevailed. That Dana was full of sympathy for them, and greatly interested not only in the actual condition of affairs, but in the provisions of the new constitution which were then under discussion, is apparent in every line. He attended the daily session of the Assembly, and listened with the closest attention to the debates in which such men as Victor Hugo and Félix Pyat, General Cavaignac and General Baraguay d'Hilliers took part. His analysis of the questions and the discussions which followed is most searching. It constitutes an excellent bit of reporting, but in the progress of later years it has lost its significance for the present generation, and must therefore be omitted from this narrative.

Much of a later letter is taken up with an account of the proceedings of the committee on the constitution, the organization of the legislature, the right to labor, religious freedom, the formation of clubs and secret societies, the debate between M. Thiers and M. Proudhon, the proposed intervention in Italy, the condition of trade, and the alarming increase of beggary in Paris. In regard to the last-mentioned subject, I quote as follows:

. . . "To answer the demands made upon one in the streets by those who are evidently unused to begging would require daily a small fortune. At evening all Paris, almost, seems to be abroad in search of charity. Young men stop you in the streets to ask assistance, and respectably dressed women, duly veiled, entreat the passers on the sidewalks to buy some ornament, which is their last resource against starvation. Charity is, or soon will be, utterly unavailing against the destitution. The number of persons who were in the national workshops was one hundred and five thousand. Since the insurrection there has been a regular system of furnishing those of them who wished with pecuniary relief at their homes. The number claiming it is now more than two hundred thousand. The distributer in one small district says that when he began it was estimated that there were forty-two persons to be aided in his district; at his second distribution there were seventy-one, and at his third, which took place five days after the first, eighty-eight. So that the number of public paupers—for these unfortunates are nothing else —had been more than doubled in five days. Where is the government to find means to sustain this load of misery?" . . .

The letter of August 3d was devoted mainly to M. Proudhon's reply to the speech of M. Thiers in the Assembly. The subject under consideration was socialism or the rights and duty of property. The Assembly was packed with people anxious to hear this "insatiable radical," who had been mentioned as "the Robespierre of a new terror," but whom Dana characterizes as "not so great a man though a better one."

. . . "He is a logician with the French passion for theatrical effect. Robespierre was a man of profound sincerity. Proudhon is a man of unequalled skill in dialectics. Robespierre was a man of ideas. Proudhon is a man of mental conception. Robespierre spoke to convince; Proudhon to startle. But the man of '48 is of his times, as the man of '93

was of his. Robespierre made violence the instrument of liberty. Is it the destiny of fraternity to pass through the same companionship and through similar strains? I cannot believe it. There will be great and trying difficulties, but the passion which raged then can hardly be kindled now, besides, history does not repeat itself." . . .

It is noteworthy that this radical philosopher, although possessed of imperturbable nerve and self-control, was listened to by his fellow-members with but little patience. What he considered as his best points against the "royalty of money" and the "aristocracy of capital" were received with laughter and derision. The greatest confusion prevailed throughout his address, but the speaker held his ground as "unchanged as if he were reading aloud to himself." His offensive doctrines were set forth at great length, but curiously enough the Assembly, after hearing him through to the end, resolved to pass to the order of the day as the best way of expressing its disapproval of Citizen Proudhon's odious attack on the right of property, as an inexcusable appeal to the worst passions of the working people, and a calumny on the revolution of February. The resolution was carried by six hundred and ninety-one as against the single vote of Proudhon and one other member. This overwhelming decision gave satisfactory assurances to the world that the day of violence was past. The sober sense of the Assembly had not only condemned the schemes of the radical socialist, but had pronounced them to be visionary and impracticable as well as subversive of public morals and social order.

It is to be observed that it was in this speech that Proudhon laid before the Assembly and the nation his proposition to abolish interest and rent, as the best means of stimulating production and creating a state of universal abundance, cheapness, and enjoyment. It was also in

this speech that he proposed the organization of credit by means of a bank of exchange, which it was contended would make the actual current product of industry instead of specie the standard of circulation, and thus carry the world forward with another great stride. Dana sets forth all Proudhon's theories clearly and with evident interest, but nowhere gives them his approval as practicable or workable schemes of government. They were novel and suggestive speculations on matters of great human concern, but there is no evidence that they produced anything more than a passing impression upon the alert and virile mind of the writer. He alluded to them upon more than one occasion in after life, but, like the French Assembly, ultimately came to look upon them as visionary and impracticable.

Dana spent the whole of July, August, and September (1848), or something over three months, at the French capital, much of the time in close attendance on the meetings of the Assembly, where the principal business was the framing of a definite constitution of government for the republic. As the men who had that important matter in hand had come to understand fairly well that the causes which had led to the revolution were social rather than political, the discussions turned more upon the condition of labor and industry, and the duties of government in respect thereto, than upon mere political rights or forms of administration. One is struck by the complete absence of all reference to the science of political economy from the discussions of the day, whether in Dana's letters or the French journals. The word economics, now so commonly in use, seems to have been entirely unknown at that time. Dana made no use of it, but, like the leading French journalists and statesmen, spoke and wrote only about socialism. All economic phenomena were classified and discussed under that head, and so far as one can now

perceive, Dana as well as the public men with whom he came into daily contact, was dealing largely with symptoms rather than with the actual cause of disease—with abstract theories rather than with practical measures of reform.

In this correspondence Dana charges the conservative or bourgeois party with both making the insurrection and putting it down—with refusing to pay the men in the national workshops and yet continuing to pay them in the shop of charity—with abolishing the monarchy and then conspiring to continue its abuses—with establishing an elective presidency and then preparing to convert it into a hereditary one—with promising aid to Italy and then refusing it. He calls attention to the fact that while all Europe has been going through political convulsions, the retrograde party is everywhere gathering strength—everywhere rejoicing in the prospect of returning to power. "The revolutionary forces have only two allies—winter and famine—against which armies are powerless and martial law of no effect." The discontentment which had spread to England, and was increased by famine in Ireland, shook his confidence in the eternity of British institutions, and led him to declare:

. . . "The majesty of England is after all fragile at the base, the feet of the statue are of clay. Its day will come, sooner or later, whether to-morrow or the next century, no man can foretell. A feudal aristocracy monopolizing the soil, and the moneyed aristocracy monopolizing the materials and implements of industry, are both things that cannot stand before the spirit that is abroad. Nor will they disappear peacefully by a gradual and harmless process." . . .

The agitation continued in France, the army was kept constantly on the alert, the streets of Paris were filled with artillery, conspiracy was suspected on every hand, the

republic was in constant fear of overthrow, the provisional government was divided against itself. On every side the call was for a great man who could meet the emergencies, guide the country through the whirlpool, and secure instant safety for the mighty interests of the people. At this juncture Dana pointed out in his letter to the *Tribune* that it was vain to long for a great leader, and that

> . . . "as the world advances the crises of its progress are more and more beyond the control of human genius. This age seems poorer in individual greatness than other ages, because its necessities and perils are more gigantic, and individuals cannot tower above them." . . .

And yet Dana continued to attend the Assembly and to report its proceedings. His September letters constitute a condensed but comprehensive summary of the discussions which took place over the provisions of the new constitution, whether in the press or in the legislature. They present with impartial candor the fervid eloquence of Lamartine, the unimpassioned conservatism of De Tocqueville, the sturdy resolution of Cavaignac, the shifty statesmanship of Thiers, and the lofty patriotism of Hugo. They note with approval or disapproval both the small men and the great, as they passed across the stage, and it may well be doubted if any newspaper in the world, at that time, presented a more animated or a more truthful picture of the notable men and measures connected with that important historical epoch than that furnished by Dana to the *Tribune*. However much one may feel disposed to question the personal criticisms or the philosophical reflections in which these letters abound, it must be admitted that they are presented in a freshness and beauty of style which in this day at least would surely result in giving them permanent existence as a book of travels and observation.

After listening to the petty cavillings and verbal criticisms of many small disputants, he hailed with delight Lamartine's approach to the tribune, and from what follows, one can almost hear the distinguished member of the provisional government as he addresses the legislature:

. . . "The essence of Lamartine's oratory is sentiment, imagination. It is not the reason he addresses, and logic is not one of his weapons, but there is something electric, something inspired in his words which makes you forget reason, forget everything, indeed, but the magnificent periods that seem to envelop you like an atmosphere of the finer and more exciting quality. His oratory absorbs you, carries you away, magnetizes and delights you. You are revived, elevated, ennobled by its influence. Your mind afterwards works more freely, as if it had been bathed in some invigorating and expanding element. He has not argued with you, has not convinced you, has not instructed you, but you come from hearing him with a new faith in truth and in humanity, with clearer insight, and with fresh resolution and courage."

A close but kindly criticism follows. The orator fails to grasp great principles in their details and to develop them into workable institutions. While he sympathizes with the people and favors their right to labor, he conveys no intelligible idea of how that right is to be secured. Having no clear idea of his own, he necessarily utters nothing but vague and glittering generalities.

. . . "'But,' says our correspondent, 'I find myself criticising him as coolly as if there was nothing else to say about his speech but to point out its faults, when at the time of its delivery one would as soon have thought of finding fault with a summer sunrise.' "

As no analysis can do justice to these letters, the reader must be content with an extract now and then on some

subject of general interest. In speculating upon the course of events in Germany and Austria, as viewed from Paris, Dana declares that no reaction can ever take back the abolition of seignorial rights, or reimpose the burdens which the revolution has lifted from the backs of the people. Then he adds, with confidence:

. . . "The freedom of the press, the education of the masses can also not be done away with, though they may for a time be subjected to restrictions. It is in vain for barbarism and tyranny to attempt to regain the conquests of liberty; they may seem to triumph for a while, but they are destroyed by their triumph. The Croats of Jellachich may be victorious, but that very victory will leave them less savage than before, and inoculate them with ideas to which they are strangers."

In commenting upon the provisional government under the presidency of General Cavaignac, whom he praises for his honorable descent, his spotless character, his faithful performance of duty, and as though laying down a principle for future use, he says:

. . . "The career of the general has been a brilliant one; from his first entry into military life to the insurrection of June he has been uniformly successful. But to be a successful soldier is one thing, and to be a man capable of directing the affairs of a state in a difficult crisis is another.

"General Cavaignac is a soldier still, and only a soldier. His government is the government of the sabre and the bayonet; it rests on military not on moral force. Its end is the preservation of order by means of the army and the dictatorship. His policy is military law; he is not a statesman, but a chieftain whom circumstances have put into power. It follows that his rule is only temporary, and that as the circumstances which raised him to his present prominence disappear . . . he will return to the rank from which he has emerged, a skilful soldier, but politically a cipher. . . .

"Indeed, in nothing that belongs to the sphere of the statesman is [his] administration above mediocrity; it marches in the line of *juste-milieu* and of routine—is neither one thing nor the other—does not gain the confidence of the bourgeoisie nor the attachment of the people, and has nothing to rely upon but the army, the fear of change and an uncertain something that may follow the change, which naturally exercises a great influence in the Assembly, if not on the population in general." . . .

And so it was to the end. The provisional government took no liberties with the people but to maintain order. Its chief laid down no policies and propounded no theories of social reform, but steadily maintained order, holding the drawn sword between the factions, and finally handing over the government intact and unbroken to his elected successor. He had been called by the Assembly to the position he occupied. He had entered upon it with devotion, and he would go out of it with honor. While Dana at the time seemed to think this but a narrow platform—a policy of negation, and therefore a bitter disappointment to the people, whose privations and sacrifices entitled them to something better—he could not withhold his tribute of admiration from its author "for the firmness and chivalrous spirit with which he assumed his position." He evidently feared his failure, yet hoped for success, and it is to be recorded that his success was complete. What Dana thought of it finally is unknown, but there can be but little doubt that in later years he would have given it unstinted praise had he been called upon for an opinion. Even a revolution does not appear from a central point of observation, as it does from one far removed either in distance or time.

So far as one can judge from Dana's analysis of the speeches and the newspaper discussions, he sympathized with those who stood out for the "right of every individual

living on the soil of the republic not to die of hunger, the guarantee of a subsistence procured by labor, and a series of institutions to make good that guarantee," rather than with those who favored the measures that were passed. It is to be observed that this is merely an inference, and that he nowhere expresses his personal preference or opinion, but contents himself with reporting the discussions of the hour with a good deal of fulness, as bearing upon an acute question in France which had not yet made its appearance in his own country, but which might do so in the natural course of events.

It is only fair to remember that Dana was still gazing at the world with the eyes of curiosity rather than of matured judgment. He was gathering and reporting facts and opinions as he found them, and while he was doubtless thereby forming his own ideas tentatively at least, it was no part of his plan to express them in this correspondence, except upon such fundamental questions as had already been settled both for time and eternity. He favored individual liberty of conscience, religion, and labor; he stood for free opinions, free voting, free press, and free education. He sympathized with the poor and down-trodden. He hated tyranny, oppression, and privilege; he favored the elevation of the people by all proper means, and it is not to be denied that he thought those means might be brought forward more rapidly and more surely by a spirit of aggressive inquiry and investigation than by the conservative processes of evolution. In truth, it must be said he stood in awe of no speculation however bold, but appears to have held himself free to listen to every honest suggestion for the improvement of the human lot, no matter from what source it came or who stood forth as its champion.

It was about the middle of September that Louis Napoleon was elected a member of the National Assembly, in five departments by overwhelming majorities. The event

was full of interest to Dana, and he made haste to report and comment upon it to the journals which he represented. To the *Tribune* he said:

. . . "All the moderate Republicans regard the result as a severe blow at the Republic and lament it. The Legitimists rejoice at it. 'A Napoleon was fatal to the Republic of '93—a Napoleon will be fatal to the Republic of '48, and a second restoration will be, they think, more fortunate than the former.' The Red Republicans are not sorry; they regard it as a blow not at the Republic, but at the administration of Cavaignac and the state of siege of which they are impatient to be rid.

"To say the least, the result is a striking one: Napoleon a pretender whose purposes, or rather those of his friends, are masked but not extinguished; Fould an extreme reactionist whose Republicanism is more than doubtful; Raspail a violent Revolutionist, and an aspirant for the succession of Marat, a leader in the outbreak of May 15th. These men do not portend peace and quiet, but disturbance and convulsion, and the weakness of those who represent moderate opinions in the press and the chamber only strengthen them. Louis Napoleon in ordinary times and ordinary circumstances would pass for nothing more than a hare-brained and very foolish young man; now he is magnified into a danger to the Republic, and the people vote for him because he is made a greater man than he is [and], because he represents the medium of the emperor." . . .

This closely enough foreshadows the course of history in respect to that extraordinary man and his career, to stand for prophecy. In connection with a previous remark of Dana's, that Louis Napoleon would rather have the empire than the republic, and with the fact that he finally overthrew the republic and made himself emperor, it must be conceded that this was a prophecy which hastened hotfoot to fulfilment. In connection with Louis Napoleon's election to the Assembly, Dana calls attention

to the fact that the vote actually cast for him was smaller than it was at either of the previous elections in those districts, and that this circumstance seemed to justify the conclusion that a large number of the French people did not, even upon such important occasions, care enough for universal suffrage to take the trouble of going to the polls. Later, in referring to Louis Napoleon's first appearance in the Assembly, Dana says:

. . . "He was instantly the sole object of attention of every person in the House except the unlucky orator who happened to be in the tribune; even the elegant and massive lorgnette of ivory that President Marast wields with such consummate skill was gracefully levelled upon him. He bore the quizzing with calmness and courage. He was dressed in black with a bad-looking mustache—at least that was the verdict of the ladies in the gallery. He is rather undersized and seems worn with dissipation. As soon as his election was proclaimed he read a speech about two minutes long in which he took the oath of allegiance to the Republic and his constituents. All parties joined in applauding it." . . .

The fact is that both the radicals and the conservatives were tired and the country impatient. The discussion had been going on with more or less intensity for six months, further agitation was discouraged, and while the committee on the constitution was not altogether satisfied with its work, both the Assembly and the people insisted upon settling down to the organization of a definitive if not a permanent government.

Dana, while faithfully reporting the final result to the newspapers at home, declared with characteristic emphasis:

. . . "The agitation will not stop, and ought not to stop, till all monopolies are abolished and a free field opened to progress of every kind. As long as there are fetters on this

people they will struggle to shake them off. Every new effort loosens the bonds somewhat, and if they made no effort they would never be loosened.

"Monopolies, that oppress whole classes," he added, "do not come off easily, but once off can never be restored, and whatever the agitation may cost let us remember this truth, which is too generally overlooked and too easily forgotten, that it cannot be as destructive, inhuman, and fatal in its consequences as the evil that occasions it. . . . The struggle for freedom may be terrible, but the stagnation of oppression is more so. The French agitation has its sufferings, but a return to the old quiet would be worse."

And this seems to have been "truth" to Dana throughout his life. Agitation had no terrors for him, but remained as the breath of his nostrils in every great occasion, and even in every occasion which he thought to be great.

On September 28th he wrote two letters, the first of which related exclusively to French affairs, and the second to the progress of the revolution in Germany, Austria, and Italy. On October 4th he wrote his final letter from Paris relating mostly to the policy of France towards the surrounding countries. I shall omit all reference at this time to the second, and confine myself to the consideration of the third. It was a period of universal ferment. The process of consolidation and reconstruction had everywhere begun. Thrones were tottering, republics were rising, and constitutions were coming into existence. France, having been the first to drive out the old and install the new, was regarded as the leader of modern Europe. All the elements of discontentment turned naturally towards her for guidance and assistance, and she was swift to promise both. Ledru-Rollin had eloquently said:

"There are two means of propagating Republican principles—one armed, that of force; the other pacific, that of ideas."

The latter the provisional government had inaugurated in a magnificent manifesto which the whole nation received with enthusiasm. This means had been most fruitful, for within two months all the sovereigns of Germany were obliged to settle accounts with their subjects. The cry of France had found an echo. The unity of Germany had begun to be founded. The German democracy were ridding themselves of their petty princes, and yet the allied monarchs were, as in '93, convinced that it would be necessary to conquer the revolutionary genius of France—first to extinguish the conflagration around themselves, and then to destroy forever that France whence the revolution had gone forth.

The spirit of democracy had spread throughout the continent. The people of Italy and Hungary were like those of France and Germany, showing a firm determination to substitute republicanism for despotism. Local disturbances seemed about to merge themselves in European revolution, and the people were everywhere calling for help. But the provisional government wisely declined to send the French army on a democratic crusade. France had troubles of her own in abundance, and deeply as she might sympathize with the people of other countries, she drew lessons of wisdom from her past history, and finally planted herself firmly on the doctrine of non-intervention. It must be confessed that while Dana's views upon this important question are far in advance of the period in which they were uttered, they are none the less eloquent on that account. They are given at length in the extract which follows:

. . . "The duty of France is not to undertake the propagation of Republican principles by armed force. She should not send her armies into a country to compel its people to accept a freedom for which they are not ripe, which they do not desire; but on the other hand it is her duty, neglect

of which is exceedingly dangerous, to fly to the assistance of every nation that in the name of Liberty invokes her aid. It is her duty to come out from the old league of kings and despots, and, planting herself on the rock of popular Liberty, to proclaim the era of Universal Emancipation. She is not put at the head of the great movement of these times in order that she may shirk from the responsibilities which that post implies. The aid which from motives of mere self-interest, she rendered to America in the hour of need she is bound to render from motives of paternal generosity to Italy, to Germany, to Hungary, and to Poland, to every appealing nation to which that aid may avail. Those nations are in some sort her children—called into life by her influence and example—and it is treachery of the same hue, though of a fainter tinge, to allow them to be strangled by Absolutism, as it would be to allow one of her own provinces to be taken from her by Austria or Prussia. The notion that they are foreign nations and may be neglected is a relic of an idea happily growing more obsolete every day. The truth that in Christendom, in Europe, there are no foreign nations, but that all are members of one sisterhood, of one commonwealth, is taking its place. These general considerations form only one aspect of the argument. For France it is not only a question of morals but of interest.

"The battle between Democracy and Absolutism commenced in Europe long ago; it was definitely engaged in '92 when the French Republic was first proclaimed. The Restoration was merely a truce between the contending parties which the Revolution of February [1848] broke off.

. . . "I am not a lover of war but of peace. War is as hateful to me as the direst form of crime and destruction can be to any one, but I believe that the world is not yet so far advanced that it may not be a necessity and a duty. In this view I cannot resist the conviction that there is something providential in the growth of this National Spirit in the French nation. It is their preparation for the last and most momentous war in Europe for the final struggle between Despotism and Liberty." . . .

Calling attention to the alliance between Russia, Prussia, and Austria to resist the democratic tendency of the times, he declares:

. . . "If France is the positive pole of Europe, Russia is the negative—the one the day-dawn, the other blackest midnight; the one life, the other death."

Pointing out how Russia was becoming everywhere the leader of the party of resistance, that France was in better condition to make war than any other nation of Europe, and that a general war was sure to break out sooner or later, he argued that the sooner France begun it the sooner and the more certainly would she conquer a lasting peace. But in order that his personal views should not be misunderstood, he said, in conclusion:

. . . "I have not been arguing in favor of war for the sake of war. God forbid that any man should be so depraved as that! I have simply attempted to show that a war is inevitable, that it will be a war between France and Russia, or between Liberty and Despotism, and that France has lost the opportunity of strengthening herself very greatly by neglecting the dictates of humanity in the case of Italy. The issue of the war, as I have already said, can only be in favor of Liberty; first political liberty will be established, clearing the way for progress, and then will follow equality and fraternity. All is not attained with the overthrowal of despots, and all the despotism is not overthrown when the kings are driven from their capitals. From political to social and industrial freedom, the distance at times seems long, but it is not too long for humanity."

While the prophetic strain which characterizes this declaration may be considered premature, it clearly indicates that Dana's sympathies lay with the party of discontentment and progress wherever it might be found, or whatever might be its chance of success.

V

POLITICAL STUDIES ABROAD

Dana visits Berlin—Republican movement in Germany and Austria—Louis Napoleon elected president of France—Doubts of his honesty and sincerity—Summary of political situation—Returns to America—Review of socialism

Dana left Paris about October 6th, and arrived at Berlin shortly afterwards. His first letter from that place was dated October 10th, and gave a general account of the republican movement throughout Germany. It indicates a close study of conditions not only in that country but in Austria-Hungary as well. In both, as in France, the people were arrayed against the nobility, for the abolition of unjust feudal rights and of unlimited power, for the establishment of equality under the law, for individual and collective liberty, for free religion, free press, and for a wider distribution of the soil. While they favored a united Germany under a republican government, they had not yet, says Dana, adopted "the absurd idea that German nationality must include every race that speaks the German language, or which has ever been under German authority." Here, as in France, Dana, speaking their language fluently, and mixing with the people freely in their places of meeting and amusement, speedily gained their confidence and became acquainted with their inmost aims and aspirations. Considering their aptitude for giving practical application to abstract ideas, he hastened to declare:

. . . "The question of this age, I begin to think, must be decided in Germany. It was here that was accomplished the

great movement of the Reformation which gave individual liberty to the world, and in so doing introduced all the evils that belong to individualism and the reign of unlimited competition as the guiding principle of society. It is here that the next and greatest step is perhaps to be taken, and with the organization of fraternity, the rights of individuals and the full activity of freedom will be reconciled with Universal Prosperity and Justice. But it is not extravagant to believe that the civil war which may accompany or precede the accomplishment of this great change will be short and harmless compared to that war in which the Reformation contended for existence. In spite of clouds which hang upon the horizon, I have an instinctive faith that the storm, if it burst at all, must soon disappear in a glorious enduring day. The grounds of this faith I may have occasion to develop in future letters, but for the moment the fact that the German character is eminently fraternal is worth considering." . . .

While in Berlin he mingled freely with the citizens in the streets, both before and after the collision which occurred between the workmen and the National Guard; and in his letter of the 17th, he gives a graphic account of the fighting and of the public funeral of those who were killed in the affray—of the orations which were delivered by the clergymen and representatives—of the quarrel between the king and those who favored the reduction of his powers—of the failure of the Assembly both there and at Frankfort—and of the threatened condition of affairs in Austria. He had intended to go through Bohemia and Prague to Vienna, to study the condition of affairs on the spot, but for some reason not explained changed his plans, and went directly to Frankfort-on-the-Main. He wrote two letters from there, both dated November 27th; the first related to the Prussian revolution, and gave a graphic account of the king's triumph, which was attributed largely to the cowardice of the armed burghers, especially of

Berlin, and the incompetence of both the civil and military leaders. To this should be added the fear of anarchy, the desire of quiet and profitable times, and a willingness on the part of many to accept a "constitutional throne" as a sufficient guarantee of their personal and property rights.

Dana indulged in the prophecy that Prussia, and with it Germany, must become a republic, but he did not venture to predict whether the change would be brought about peaceably or by revolution, nor how soon it might be expected. He thought that there were too many republicans and socialists, too many thinkers and writers, too many journals and magazines throughout Germany to permit the continuance of arbitrary rule; but how soon or how thorough the changes would be, he did not venture to predict. He recognized the effort to re-establish the empire on the basis of a customs-union, or zollverein, in which there should be free-trade between the states and a common tariff against all outside countries. He set forth the arguments in favor of a policy which should guard German industry against foreign competition, and grant free-trade to such countries only as would consent to a genuine reciprocity. He considered the question of an elective or hereditary emperor for life or for a term of years, but came to the conclusion that the preponderance of Prussia over the other German states was so great that the king of that country would carry off the prize, and that Germany as a whole would gain nothing from the revolution, except "that instead of thirty-four sovereign princes she would have thirty-five." He pointed out that the composite character and dynastic interests of the Austria-Hungarian empire, and especially the opposition of the Slavonic leaders, would make it impracticable to incorporate any of the provinces of that empire into the new German Federation. He gives a brief but an interesting account of affairs at Vienna and in the Danubian provinces,

as reported by the newspapers, but owing to the continuance of the state of siege at Vienna, and of the civil war in Hungary, he gave up his proposed trip to those regions, and returned to Paris, where he arrived December 6 or 7, 1848.

The first letter after his arrival is dated December 10th, and the second December 14th. They relate to the parties, the candidates, and to the election of Louis Napoleon as the first president of France under the new constitution over Cavaignac the provisional president, Ledru-Rollin, candidate of the revolutionary party, and Raspail, the candidate of the extreme socialists, by an overwhelming majority in the proportion of five votes to two. Dana attributes this extraordinary result to the refusal of the provisional government, backed by the bourgeoisie, the commercial classes, the clergy, and the office-holders to protect the natural rights of the laboring classes.

From the first he declared:

. . . "I have no faith in the sincerity of Louis Napoleon's adherence to the Republic. His history is marked with examples of falsehood too glaring to allow any confidence to be placed in his protestations even were he a man of sufficient intellect and character to be capable of genuine sincerity. There is no doubt that he would much rather be Emperor than President." . . .

He pointed out that while the new constitution, with all its defects, established a republic, and guaranteed liberty, order, and the opportunity of progress as no other French constitution had ever done, it had also established a centralized government which might be "a good arrangement for a despotism, but not for a free country." It, however, failed to make provision for the right to labor, and thus ignored one of the principal contentions of the revolution, and yet he thought that neither the Legitimists,

the Bonapartists, the socialists, nor the radicals would try to overthrow it. Surveying the whole field, he concluded that the party into whose hands the revolution had fallen "had been tried and found wanting," that the prominent impulse in every quarter was to oust it, and that as there was no really great man to save it, the voters would settle down "on Louis Napoleon, whom they despised, to defeat Cavaignac, whom they hated."

Mingling with the plain people in their daily life, studying their manners and habits of thought, their labor and socialistic associations, and conversing freely with them in the restaurants, workshops, places of amusement, and streets, Dana wrote seven letters to the *Tribune* in quick succession, the last of which was dated January 2, 1849. In these letters he summarized the situation of political affairs throughout Europe, discussed the election in France, the inauguration of the new president, the personnel and character of his cabinet, and finally gave what is aptly designated as "the balance-sheet of the revolution." In his astonishment at the enormous popular majority of Louis Napoleon, he declared that "France has voted like a drunken man," and that many feared he would at once make himself emperor, but such an act of usurpation he dismissed as improbable, and if undertaken, no matter under what pretence, as sure to result in failure as did that at Boulogne. He believed that both the army and the great body of the people were true to the republic, and would support it against all its enemies whatsoever, and that there was at that time no reason to fear that the president-elect would accept the imperial crown if it were offered him. Besides, he suggested that with the formation of his cabinet and the establishment of his government on a working basis, "M. Napoleon has his hands full without thinking immediately of putting on the crown of his uncle." He added:

. . . "If France has voted for him as it were in intoxication, it is an intoxication in which all engagements are to be remembered, and after which their fulfilment will be insisted upon."

While all this seemed true at the time, and there was but little either in France or the rest of Europe upon which to base a forecast of history, the condition of public affairs had by no means reached a state of stable equilibrium. While the party of resistance had got control in Germany, and a solidarity of the German people had been defeated for the present by the rivalry between Prussia and Austria and the distrust of the other principalities, order was not yet fully re-established. Italy and Hungary were still in a state of turmoil. The pope had not yet returned to the Vatican nor regained his freedom of action, and yet the revolution was everywhere on the wane. Peace reigned throughout France, the long agony was over, and the new president was quickly though prematurely inaugurated on December 20th, installed in the Elysée National, and surrounded by a cabinet of his own choosing. Dana, in describing this ceremony, says:

. . . "The president-elect was dressed with unusual elegance in a black coat with a white waistcoat and white kid gloves, much as if he had been going to a wedding. His heavy, rather sensual, and very ordinary features, relieved by a thick mustache, were at the same moment animated by the emotions natural to the scene, so that there was really something remarkable in his appearance. On his left breast was noticed the grand cross of the Legion of Honor.

"He ascended the tribune, and as M. Marast read the oath, raised his right hand. After he had taken it and the proper formalities with regard to its announcement to the nation were accomplished, he proceeded to read his inaugural speech in a firm voice but with little impressiveness. This

was a short document, but contained the most entire pledges of adherence to the Republic. He would treat as enemies, he said, all who would attempt by illegal means to alter the Constitution. His aim would be to establish society on its true basis, to consolidate the Democratic Institutions of the country, and to ameliorate the condition of the people. He thanked the old government for what it had done to maintain the supremacy of the public authority, and passed a brief eulogy on General Cavaignac. They had a great mission to accomplish—namely, to found a Republic in the interest of all, with a just and firm government, animated by a sincere love of progress, and neither reactionary nor utopian. If they could not do great things, what they did do should, with the aid of God, be good."

This was a programme which might well have silenced the fears and stimulated the hopes of our correspondent.

After a brief but comprehensive allusion, in his final letter, to the inconclusive results realized in France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, and to the fact that the arrest of the revolution as a European movement had put an end to the fear of general war, "which seemed at first inevitable, then desirable, and then probable," but which had "gradually faded away like a cloud from the horizon," he passed on to a philosophical summary of the good produced by the revolution:

. . . "Briefly it consists in the opening wide of the way of progress. In the putting of society face to face with the questions on which its fate depends, and in the raising of many minds to solve them. Of positive results it has little to show—nothing in comparison with the evils by which it has been attended. But all evil is temporary. Good is permanent and renews itself forever. The carnage of the battlefield disappears, but the liberty thereby achieved remains for the latest generations. The impulse given to the heart and mind of Christendom by the year 1848 will wake after its

ruins are rebuilt. This impulse is everywhere in new and more vigorous life, in all countries of Europe—even in England.

. . . "European civilization is at a most important crisis. It has attained its maturity and the process of decay has begun. At the same time the germs of better things, or a new social order, are appearing. Has civilized Europe vitality enough to develop the new forms before it is crushed in the downfall of the old? Is there intelligence, love of justice, and love of man enough in these nations to anticipate and obviate the decay? This is the question. The antique civilization also reached its climax and then perished. It is for us to take a lesson from its fate. It perished because it was based on slavery. Other causes were concerned in its destruction, but this was the primary one. The basis of the social structure is industry. If there is wrong in the relations of industry—that is, of property and labor—the time will arrive when they must be reformed, or the whole structure will go to pieces. For a time slavery served a useful purpose in Greece and Rome, but at last society reached a period when slavery must be put away and labor recognized in a more just manner. This necessity was not understood; the men of the time were not equal to it, and nations great in philosophy, art, poetry, and war were swept away by progress. The same necessity is at hand now. Under the existing system of labor, modern society has reached the utmost development which that system will allow. New methods of industry must be established, as much superior to the wages system as that is superior to slavery, or else the doom will be pronounced and executed. . . .

"Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the civilization of modern times is fortified against an overthrow as that of the antique world was not; the railroads, the steamships, the manufactories, the wealth more abundant and more generally divided, which exists now, are so many substantial guarantees that society is to go forward to higher forms without the sad necessity of beginning the circle anew with barbarism and ignorance for its elements. Nor is the reform now to be achieved so difficult as that for the lack of which the Old World

went to ruin, for the injustice and imperfection out of which labor must be elevated are not so great, while the humanity and intelligence are vastly greater. And apart from these considerations there is reason to believe that the necessary change is now slowly going on. The practical movement of labor reform is wider and profounder than is generally imagined. The principle of co-operation is surely, I believe, supplanting that of competition. Here in Paris there are now in operation some fifty associations of workmen, and they are springing up in other places also. Some will not succeed, it is likely, others are already brilliantly successful. In five years the greater part of the labor done in Paris will be so done that the workman will be his own master, and receive the full fruit of his toil. This will settle the question for the whole of Europe."

This concludes a series of letters far the most numerous and interesting Dana ever wrote, except those covering the Civil War in America. From the extracts incorporated into this narrative, which show him to have been at least a consummate reporter, it is evident that he was a spectator of many of the transactions which he described, that he was frequently admitted behind the scenes, and that in all cases he must have had excellent sources of information. The facts described by him may, therefore, be relied upon as correctly stated, and while in the light of the half-century or more which has elapsed since his first visit to Europe, it is evident that he wrote rather with regard to cause than to persons—more from a moral and speculative than from an economic or strictly philosophical point of view. Many of his conclusions have not yet been realized, but it must be conceded that they are founded on principles, if not on fundamental facts, which command our sympathy if not our approval, especially when he assures us, as he does in terms of singular eloquence, that:

. . . "Through the whole commotion and excitement I have beheld nothing to shock my faith in the Divine Providence and the sure though gradual development of society into noble and happy states. My sympathies were with the people when they were triumphant, and when their heroism and enthusiasm commanded the admiration of the world; they have been with them in their errors and misfortunes; they are with them still in a hope which outlives defeat and forgets disaster."

And so it was always. If Dana appears to have been at times either a partisan or, more rarely, a neutral, there is nothing to indicate that he ever became an indifferent spectator. His mind was ever on the alert to detect the real drift of things, and while it may be truthfully said that he was by nature an optimist in regard to the purposes and tendencies of humanity, and not infrequently overestimated the strength of the forces working for progress, or underestimated those which were working against it, he rarely ever failed to lend the whole weight of his influence to the cause which enlisted his sympathies or appealed to the nobler sentiments of our common nature.

Shortly after his return to this country he prepared and published in the *Tribune* a review of socialism, and of certain practical associative movements in Europe, in which he contended that the so-called "Red Republicans," while somewhat given to violence both of feeling and expression, were neither so blood-thirsty as their name seemed to indicate, nor so wicked as to favor the restoration of the guillotine. They wanted a radical change in the relations of capital and labor, with better wages and conditions for the latter than they had yet been able to obtain. To this end they had exerted their influence to induce the National Assembly of France to vote 3,000,000 francs in aid of such industrial associations as might require capital. Of this sum only 1,799,000 francs were lent out to 32 associations,

of which 19, receiving an aggregate of 590,000 francs, were at Paris. The rest were from the near-by country provinces. There were only 392 applications in all from 82 different branches of industry calling for about 25,000,000 francs, in sums averaging about 500 francs, or $100 each. Of these 132 were conclusively rejected for one reason or another, but mostly because they did not come within the terms of the law. It is worthy of notice that Dana visited a number of these aided associations at their places of business, and was everywhere received with the greatest politeness. The rules, regulations, working hours, conditions of the trades, and the division of the profits were explained without reservation, and in many cases he received such favorable impressions as seemed to justify the desire for fuller information, but unfortunately Dana's stay abroad was too short to permit an exhaustive study of these interesting experiments. So far as can be ascertained, he did not follow them up after his return home, and the probability is their success, however promising at the time, was partial and short-lived. The absence of sufficient capital to meet the growing requirements of the undertakings, and of an efficient and continuous management with an equitable and certain division of the profits, to say nothing of competition, must have proved fatal to these associations, as they have to every similar undertaking from that day to this. And so far as Dana is concerned, these results only go to prove that the world was not sufficiently advanced to accept the theories, or to share the confidence on which they were founded.

VI

RETURN TO NEW YORK JOURNALISM

Continued confidence in socialistic experiments—Praises Kossuth—Macready riots — Antislavery agitation — General Taylor elected president — Greeley, Dana, and the *Tribune* — Opposes carpenters' strike—Favors free speech and free press—Protective tariff—Land reform—Pacific Railroad

DANA arrived at New York in March, 1849, by the steamship *United States*, which was twenty-eight days on the passage, and this gave rise to the fear that she was lost.

Shortly after his return he expressed the hope, in some notes for the *Tribune*, that certain French industrial associations, which were thought to embody the better part of the revolution, would survive, but one after another they disappeared, and were finally followed by the failure of Icaria, a socialistic society established by a Frenchman named Cabet, near Nauvoo, in Illinois. The fatal defects in all these societies, like that of Brook Farm, were insufficient capital and an insufficient number of the right kind of socialists. But Dana, although discouraged, did not give up his interest in the subject. In an editorial on the approaching election in France, he wrote:[1]

"Let no man be frightened by the terms 'social' and 'Socialist' as adopted by the Democratic journals of France. They are Socialists not as propagandists of any societary theory or system, but as believers together, that the condition of the toiling, suffering millions ought to be, may be

[1] New York *Tribune*, April 24, 1849.

ameliorated, and that it is the pressing duty of governments to affect such amelioration."

He followed this by an analysis of Proudhon's *Political Economy*, in which that writer points out that the way to ideal society is by association. He was evidently full of this subject, for a few days later he came out in favor of a national bank, and in his argument to support the measure, spoke sympathetically of the national credit institution, or so-called People's Bank, apparently a modification of Proudhon's Bank of Exchange, which the French democrats were advocating at that time, but which seems to have been quite as visionary as similar institutions advocated in this country, many years later, by the Populists. In the discussion of this and other socialistic measures he appealed to the Roman Catholics of the country in an editorial addressed specially to them, saying among other things:

. . . "There is one purpose very dear to us, with which it seems that the Catholics do not sympathize—namely, that of a radical improvement in the social relations of mankind."

The next day he commented with reservation upon the discordance which had made its appearance among the French reformers, and threatened to defeat the measures with which he was in sympathy. Upon this occasion he wrote:

. . . "Full discussion will show how those who have not may benefit without robbing those who have—how to secure plenty for all without confiscating the goods of any."

It is to be observed, however, that the articles of this period in favor of association, co-operation, and social reform were earnest and sympathetic, rather than positive

and dogmatic. They show a great desire—a sincere hope—for the amelioration of the human lot everywhere. All honest efforts to that end undoubtedly had his support, but there was a note of uncertainty throughout his writings based upon the undeniable fact that hope is a word implying doubt, and that he was not without apprehensions.

The revolution in Austria was at this time still claiming the attention and exciting the interest of the world. Bem, the Polish hero, was fighting the battle of the Hungarians in the field, while Kossuth was pleading their cause in the press and on the forum with marvellous eloquence. Dana, true to his sympathies, gave them unstinted praise in the *Tribune*. His pen was ever true to the call of the down-trodden and oppressed. Liberty was the supreme blessing of mankind then, as it always remained, to him, and this was as true in the case of an individual as in the case of a race or nation. He looked upon France at that time as "the sheet-anchor of the liberties of the world," and regarded the issues of the war in Hungary as affecting the interests of all mankind. With deep intensity of feeling, he prayed, "May God prosper the Right." He criticised and condemned the Russian army, which had gone to the assistance of the Austrian government against its insurgent subjects, as "the bane of human liberty," and "the heartless tool of tyranny and absolutism." Indeed, no one can read his *Tribune* editorials on these subjects without being deeply impressed by the unselfish sympathy with which he always advocated the cause of the people as against the customary restrictions upon their freedom, no matter whence they came. Whatever may be said against his views on the broader questions of social and governmental reform, and the means by which they were to be obtained, it is evident that his ideas of personal and popular liberty rested upon a solid basis. That he sympathized deeply with the European revolu-

tions is apparent in every line of his editorials as well as his correspondence. It is also apparent that the underlying foundation of this sympathy rested rather upon hatred of absolutism than upon any exaggerated love of free government.

It was in May of this year that the Macready riots took place in New York. In consequence of a misunderstanding, and of possible rivalry existing for some years between Edwin Forrest, the American tragedian, and William Charles Macready, an English actor of distinction then on a tour of the United States, the friends of Forrest took violent measures to prevent Macready from acting in New York, and brought about a bloody disturbance for the suppression of which both the police and the military forces were called out. Some twenty-three persons were killed and thirty-six wounded. Great excitement prevailed for a week. The best citizens took part in behalf of Macready's protection and his right to act. The newspapers led in the discussion, and in the end the cause of free speech and free acting prevailed. The country papers took sides, and one published at Wilkesbarre strenuously denied Macready's right to act "if a part of the people disapproved of him." This brought out the *Tribune* in strenuous defence of Macready, on the broad ground that "his rights as a man were superior to other people's prejudices." This article was written by Dana, and had in it all the ring which afterwards characterized the *Sun* under his editorship.

Early this year the *Tribune* began its advocacy of a railroad to the Pacific, and took a leading part in favor of a protective tariff, as well as in the discussion of slavery. In all these questions Greeley, who was the largest owner as well as the responsible editor, defined the policy of the newspaper on lines which nobody could mistake. Curiously enough, in a reply to a warning from a Southerner that

the Union was in danger, he frankly declared that "dissolution would not be the dreadful affair represented. If the South should ever want to secede, we go for giving her the largest liberty." This was doubtless the precursor of that other saying, "Erring sisters, depart in peace!" While this was occasionally repeated during the decade, and finally became a favorite sentiment of the *Tribune* in the dark and doubtful days which preceded the end of the war for the Union, so far as I can discover, it found no place in Dana's writings, and at no time received his approval. He was doubtless as radical as Greeley in regard to the wickedness of slavery, and even more radical than he in resisting the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the spread of slavery into the territories, but throughout his share in this agitation he refused to tolerate the idea of the dissolution of the Union. He believed then and afterwards in the power of Congress, not only to abolish the institution in the District of Columbia, but to prohibit it in the territories.

Early in 1850 the *Tribune*, for the first time, called attention to the fact "that a formidable body of politicians have been for a year plotting to dissolve the Union." Similar statements, with increasing frequency, recurred throughout the decade, and in almost every discussion this great danger was, in one form or another, placed before the people. Agitation and discussion were the daily occupation of editors, politicians, and statesmen. Missouri Compromises, Wilmot Provisos, the Omnibus Resolutions, Squatter Sovereignty, the Nebraska Bill, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the prohibition of slavery in the territories, the dissolution of the Union, the preservation of the Union, were subjects of absorbing interest more or less constantly under discussion. The great public men of the period were Clay, Webster, and Calhoun; while Benton, Dayton, Davis, Douglas, Critten-

den, Sumner, Foote, Seward, and Mangum were lesser lights; but each was striving in his own way to compose the differences between the sections by compromises and arrangements, which it was hoped would not only save the Union, but would also save slavery where it legally existed, and put an end forever to the discussion of the slavery question. Each did his part according to his lights, but still the agitation went on with ever-increasing intensity, because the more it was discussed, the more evident it became that the disease was incurable by peaceful methods, and that the divergent views held in regard to it were irreconcilable.

General Taylor, the Whig candidate, had been elected president, but this was also a compromise measure that was destined to end in disappointment. The *Tribune* took part in every discussion, and worked as though the solution of every question depended upon the arguments put forth in its columns. While it was Whig in its politics, it was pre-eminently "independent in all things—neutral in none." There were many other great journals in both the North and the South, but there was only one *Tribune* in the entire country. During this period it reached its greatest circulation. It was published both as a daily and as a weekly, and went into almost every parsonage, college, and farmer's home in the Northern States. Under Mr. Greeley, who was chief editor, assisted by Dana, who was executive officer, and for several years had charge of its make-up, it became the great antislavery journal of the day, and it has been well said that during the entire ante-war period it was "the spokesman of the most numerous, most independent, and most determined body of men ever associated for political purposes in the United States."[1]

Greeley was undoubtedly one of the greatest political

[1] Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War*, p. 14.

and controversial writers this country ever produced, and it is but simple justice to say that his heart was overflowing with sympathy for the slaves and with hatred for slavery. He threw his whole soul into the controversies going on about him, but no one can read the files of the *Tribune*, or the political writings and books of the day, without discovering that Dana was in many respects a stronger and more aggressive character than his chief. While Greeley was far from being a moral coward, it is not to be disguised that he showed at times, when the fight was heaviest, a lack of nerve if not of courage.

On the other hand, Dana was never known to weaken in a fight, nor to abandon one till it was ended. He was as tireless as a gladiator, and as unrelenting in his purposes. Withal, he was a much better educated man than Greeley, and while he may not have been so pleasing a writer, he was a master of polemical discussion and invective. It was Dana who first learned the value of reiteration, and first practised it in the columns of a newspaper as the best means of driving home his points and fastening them in the public mind. It is commonly believed by those who knew these men at the time that to Dana much more than to Greeley was due the tremendous fight which the *Tribune* made for bleeding Kansas, and for the signal victory which it won in saving that State from the curse of slavery.

While it is inconsistent with the purposes and limits of this memoir to give a complete history of this important period, or even an exhaustive résumé of Dana's contributions, I shall endeavor to set forth his views and arguments, as found in the columns of the *Tribune*, with sufficient fulness to show the important part he played and the great influence he exerted in the final settlement of the momentous questions of this decade.

In March, 1850, one of the first strikes of the New York

carpenters occurred, and Dana, notwithstanding his own recent strike for a higher salary, at once recorded himself against it as a measure "which could be of no permanent value." True to his convictions, he pointed out, then and frequently afterwards, that the remedy for such injustice as existed should be looked for in "association," or "co-operative carpentering," but he failed to indicate the essential difference between his plan and that of the strikers. It doubtless lay in his belief that it was then and always the inherent right of every carpenter to stay out of the association, or to join it, just as he pleased, without coercion or any other infringement of his personal liberty or restraint upon his perfect freedom of action. Be this as it may, it will be seen as we proceed that this is the fundamental principle upon which Dana always acted to the close of his life, whether the strike was against himself or against others.

About the same time, although strongly in favor of temperance in the use of intoxicating liquors, he took ground against absolute prohibition, and suggested instead such a tax upon the liquor-sellers as would reimburse the public for all the loss it might sustain from the traffic. While this cannot be claimed as a suggestion of the modern high license, as it has come to be applied in many States and communities, it evidently contains the germ of that measure, and is noticeable as one of the best as well as earliest solutions of a question which remains open to the present day.

As might have been supposed, the discussions of the slavery question led to much excitement, and occasionally to disturbances in the Northern States, where slavery had many apologists. It was no uncommon thing for ignorant and intolerant partisans to interfere with antislavery meetings, especially where the speakers were orators of such prominence as Garrison, Phillips, and Lovejoy. Fred-

erick Douglass, the eloquent negro speaker, was frequently prohibited from speaking, and in many parts of the North, where the Democratic party prevailed, it was positively dangerous for him to make his appearance. While Dana freely admitted that some of these persons, especially Garrison, "might not be all that he ought to be," he vehemently contended that "there must be no interference with his rights as a man," and, above all, "no infringement of the right of free speech, no matter what might be the pretext." He regarded this as one of the inalienable rights of American citizenship, and stood for it to the day of his death, strenuously and without flinching, not only for himself and every other man as a man, but for himself and every other editor as an editor. In later years he was forced to appeal to the courts for personal protection against the violation of this fundamental principle, and, as I shall relate in its proper place, fortunately won one of the most important legal victories that has ever been accorded to an American citizen. But Dana was not only in favor of free speech at this early date, as well as throughout his life, but in favor of free education for every child in the land, without reference to "his parents' providence or means, as a broad foundation for the training of the great mass of the generations to come after us in the ways of knowledge and virtue." And from this liberal and generous principle he never departed. Fortunately, it was at home in America from the earliest days of the colonies. It had some enemies among the slave-holders, but as the years passed on and slavery was abolished, it received general approval in the Southern as well as in the Northern States.

The *Tribune* from its foundation had been a sturdy advocate of a protective tariff as the best stimulant for diversified home industries. It never faltered in its support of this policy, and in this it had Dana's best help,

both before and after he became city editor. He was a consistent and persistent writer of editorials on every aspect of the subject, but as it has been accepted as the established policy of the nation under a succession of Republican presidents, from Lincoln to Roosevelt, it can hardly be considered necessary at this time to summarize, much less to repeat, the arguments for or against it. But there was a cognate discussion carried on with great warmth for the same decade in behalf of land reform and the emancipation of labor, in which Dana took a leading part. I do not understand that this discussion had reference to land tenure, or to any special form of taxation, but rather to the disposition of the public lands owned by the government. Dana's idea was that Congress should pass such laws as would put it in the reach of every citizen to acquire a quarter section, or one hundred and sixty acres, of public land as a homestead by free gift from the government, on the sole condition of actual settlement, improvement, and cultivation, and that the government should besides encourage the construction of railroads into and through the unimproved lands in the Far West, by giving the companies having them in hand such liberal land grants as were proper and necessary. But, on the other hand, he strenuously opposed all bounty land bills, for the ostensible purpose of rewarding military services to the republic. He resisted such measures as "a great outrage on the rights of the people for the benefit of speculators and land sharks." He contended that the soldiers would neither get the lands, nor anything like their value, but that while the tree might be shaken in their name, "the fruit would be gathered and devoured in Wall Street and in similar patriotic localities." A further argument was that such measures would tend to interfere with a railroad to the Pacific, an "enterprise" which he considered as "by far the most important in its

character and consequences yet presented for public consideration." He contended that there was no hope of financing the undertaking, except by using "the public lands as a source of capital, coupled with a judicious scheme for the colonization of the region" through which the road should be located. This was in 1850, and it is a noteworthy fact that at that early date he favored the plans of Asa Whitney, who, as early as 1846, had made a proposition to the government for the construction of a line from the western end of Lake Michigan to the Pacific Ocean. The first speech in the Senate in advocacy of the general measure was made by Senator Breeze, of Illinois, but the bill which was finally passed was introduced by Senator Benton, of Missouri, in 1849. Dana gave this scheme his heartiest approval and support from the first, and urged that should the bounty land bill become a law, as he feared it would, it should be followed at once by another setting apart alternate sections for the railroad, within five miles on either side, so that its construction should not fail for want of resources. He pointed out that the construction of such a road would confer an immense benefit,

"not only upon the whole country and the whole world, but a very great special benefit upon the country lying along its line. That country will be vastly increased in value by the road for all purposes of human occupation. That increase will pay for the road."[1] . . .

His advocacy of the measure, in its various stages, was continued as occasion required, till it came to be recognized by the entire country as essential to the preservation of the national unity and to the maintenance of the national defence. But the final victory was not

[1] New York *Tribune*, July 4, 1850.

won till Congress, by the acts of July, 1862, and July, 1864, provided, in addition to the land subsidy, for a subsidy of $16,000, $32,000, and $40,000 per mile for the various sections of the road, according to location, in the six-per-cent. gold-bonds of the United States. During the discussion, which was carried on with various intermission for twelve years, Dana remained true to his convictions, and worked for the great undertaking with all his might. Although he was charged with violating his principles as a land reformer, in favor of free distribution of public lands, and opposed to traffic in the soil, he stood to his guns without flinching. In vindication of his course he set forth his views as follows:

"Our doctrine about land is that the soil is necessary to the support of life like air and water, and is accordingly the common property of the human race. As such it is, strictly speaking, not a proper subject for trade between individuals. But improvements in land are the result of labor, and as such are properly individual property and may be bought and sold without violating the absolute principles of justice.

"Now take the immense tract supposed to be set apart for the Pacific road, and in its natural state it is comparatively worthless for purposes of habitation and culture. The greater part, indeed, lying in the centre of the continent, must remain unoccupied for want of a market." . . .

But with the road constructed he urged:

. . . "The actual productive value of lands along the line will be doubled, or more than doubled, not by any factitious means, but by a permanent public convenience, whose usefulness must constantly become greater. This increase of value which results from human labor and ingenuity is what is actually sold when the land is sold, and its price would not be diminished were all the rest of the public lands thrown open without pay to actual settlers as we shall do our best to have

done. In fact, by this scheme the building of the road is made actually to create the capital which pays for it."

Although this was written twelve years before the work was actually begun, and nineteen years before the road was connected through to San Francisco and the Pacific Ocean, it could not have better stated the true merits and influence of the enterprise had it been written at the present time, when the entire debt of the Pacific roads has been repaid to the national government.

But neither Greeley nor Dana was content to rest the establishment of the commercial policy of the country solely on the advocacy of a protective tariff. While both favored the latter measure as absolutely essential to the development of our resources, both opposed free-trade with all the ability they could bring to bear in the discussion. In November, 1850, Dana wrote an editorial for the *Tribune* which may be taken as a fair sample of all on that topic. I quote from it as follows:

. . . "There are free-traders by interest and free-traders by theory. These two classes are far apart in motives and in character. The first care not a copper for the philosophy of the matter, their only philosophy being to make money, according to that antique if not venerable principle, 'each for himself and the devil take the hindmost.' In this country they consist mainly of importers, many of them English, French, or Germans, whose business is to bring in and sell the greatest quantity of foreign products. The welfare of the people, the adoption of a sound course of policy, the development of American resources, are all nothing to them, for the reason that their interest lies the other way. They are like the silversmiths that once flourished at Ephesus. The balance in their ledgers is the great test of good and evil, and that no arguments can alter. Reasoning is accordingly useless with them. Their organ is the *Journal of Commerce*.

"The free-traders by theory are men who have a thought on the question, and have studied at least their own side of it. The majority of them are sincere and earnest in their convictions, and believe that their practical application must result in good. It is true that they are not always the most agreeable of people nor the fairest of debaters; like the generality of mere theorists, they are apt to be arrogant and ill-mannered, and speak contemptuously of arguments which they will not take the trouble to examine, and consequently cannot answer. But they have a great advantage over the *Journal of Commerce* free-traders, in the fact that they do after a sort speak from principles and reflection, and not from money-bags. And they are as much more worthy of respect, as it is better to speculate in ideas and theories than in the product of other men's labor.

"To this class of speculators we respectfully suggest that they put the cart quite too far before the horse, and are pursuing a mere abstraction, a theory for whose regulation the indispensable conditions are wanting. In short, they are Utopians.

"Many people range themselves with the free-trade party simply because it wears the name of liberty and claims to be in the van of progress. But this hardly seems to us a conclusive reason; and until we forget the difference between names and things, we shall endeavor to examine every pretension before admitting its validity. And the more we examine this free-trade pretension the more we are convinced that it is unsound and delusive. We shall oppose it therefore in the name of both progress and liberty.

"For, let us say, we do not yield to commerce that unqualified adoration which is the stock in trade of some writers. There are other interests the fostering of which seem to us more essential to human prosperity, taken in a large and just sense, than the interests of trade, and especially of trade with foreign and distant regions. We distrust exceedingly the source from which this cry of commercial liberty has issued. And we are assured that the true freedom of exchanges, in which as an ultimate thing, we most fully believe,

as indeed we believe in freedom of every sort, is not to be reached in the road travelled by these speculators, whether of the one class or the other." . . .

In his editorials Dana presented the fundamental arguments on which the protective tariff was based twelve years later. They were quickened by the outbreak of the war between the States, and the necessity which arose at once for additional revenues, and for the corresponding development of our own manufactures as against those of rival and possibly hostile countries from which we might be cut off at any time by the complications of the war. Without dwelling upon the history of the times, or upon the principles of political economy which were involved, it will be admitted by most Americans that no policy of government ever received a more complete vindication than did that which Greeley and Dana advocated in the *Tribune*, and which was finally carried into effect by the laws of the country.

As between industrial reform, land reform, financial reform, and social reform, all of which engaged public attention from time to time during this important period, the curious reader of the present day may be at a loss to choose, and at a still greater loss to understand which should have had precedence, but he can hardly fail to approve what Dana said about them in a philosophical editorial, from which I quote as follows:

. . . "Now it is a question with many persons which of these great schemes is entitled to pre-eminence, which has the most of intrinsic truth, to which ought men devoted to the welfare of the race exclusively to devote themselves?

"We answer that for our part we believe in exclusive devotion to none, but in contending for each or all as occasion may favor. While we see them all to be necessary, we rejoice in the enthusiasm which devotes itself to the advocacy of any,

even if accompanied by some exaggeration of its merits as compared with the others."

Surely the foregoing is a sane and helpful rule for the modern editor, whatever may be the subjects engaging his attention. That Dana followed it always thereafter is abundantly evident not only from the *Tribune*, but from the *Sun*, which he took in hand many years later. No question affecting the people at home or abroad ever escaped his analysis. No political measure or public law ever escaped his criticism, no act of violence or outrage, whether of the many or of the few, ever failed to receive his condemnation. He stood at all times, and everywhere, for a fair and equal chance for all, for public improvements, for free schools, for equal rights, for honesty in office, for virtue in all classes, and, so far as can be discovered by reading his editorials, he was absolutely fearless as well as independent in expressing his opinions. He was a Whig, a Free-soiler, and a protectionist; he sympathized with the down-trodden, the impoverished, and the oppressed, and never for a day stood neutral or indifferent in any controversy which affected the interests of mankind at large.

VII

THE SHADOW OF SLAVERY

Dana and Lincoln—"Human Restlessness and Divine Providence"—Early views of the *Tribune*—Lecture on slavery at Chicago—Ericsson's caloric engine—Principles of Dana and Greeley—The blue pencil

It is said that a few years before the beginning of this decade, Abraham Lincoln, in his first speech at New Salem announcing himself as a candidate for the legislature, defined his political principles as follows: "I believe in a protective tariff, in a system of internal improvements, in a United States bank, and I am against human slavery." This terse and comprehensive platform underlay nearly all the great controversies of the day, and curiously enough they were all definitely settled by the war between the States. That Dana had ever heard of Lincoln at the time, or for many years after his New Salem speech, is highly improbable. They were widely separated by distance as well as by occupation, and yet they stood together from the first in spirit and conviction, and this fact, as much if not more than any other, certifies the unity of the American people and their common interest in the settlement of all fundamental questions. The controversies of the day were the same everywhere, and the flux and reflux of public opinion were largely controlled by the newspapers. Public men rose and fell, as they stood for or against the popular sense of right and wrong, or as they were able or unable to make themselves heard above "the noise of the captains and the shouting."

In all this the *Tribune* gradually rose in favor, and whatever may be said of its views on this or that subject, no one can turn over its pages in the ponderous volumes of the public library without coming to the conclusion that they constitute an interesting epitome of the country's daily history. Dana's hand is recognized on every page of the issues for 1851, here advocating a railroad to the Pacific, as the best means of controlling the trade of India, there favoring the nomination of presidents without the aid of a convention, and their election by the direct vote of the people. In one article he denounced the Democratic policy of abolishing paper money, while in another he commended the noble example of Iowa in abolishing the penalty of death. The next day we find him favorably considering Mr. Seward's doctrine of the "higher law" in connection with the return of fugitive slaves. Then follows an editorial commenting upon A. T. Stewart's marble palace as an illustration of

"the tendency of commerce to concentrate into fewer and fewer hands, impelled by an unexpressed instinct that economy and reliability are thereby attained. The man who keeps a stock of goods worth hundreds of thousands and sells annually to the value of millions can afford to undersell his smaller-dealing competitor, and cannot afford to bear the reputation of dishonesty and slipperiness. Hence as trade concentrates it becomes cleaner, fairer, more upright. The great operator may be no honester intrinsically than his petty rival, but his public is far wider and its opinions more important."

But the fear of dissolution and secession had become deeply fixed even at that early day in the minds of the Southern people, and especially in those of the South-Carolinians. Greeley was abroad, and Dana had not yet come to regard our political situation as one of pressing danger. In June, 1851, he wrote with incredulity:

"What can South Carolina expect to do in the way of forcible secession on her own account?"

Far-sighted and vigilant as he was, it is clear that the dissolution of the Union had not yet come to be the all-absorbing topic of public discussion. Evidently the wide-spread spirit of revolution which in 1848–49 had threatened every government in Europe, and had so impressed him during his travels abroad with the necessity for social and economic reform, still held the uppermost place in his mind.

On another occasion, only a few days later, Dana, after commenting upon the great triumph which we celebrate on the Fourth of July, declared with regret that while it put democracy into our political it failed to put it into our social institutions, and this idea it will be seen, by references to his addresses delivered on socialism and democracy many years afterwards, he never relinquished.

In August of this year the white merchants of Virginia put forth an address, in which they took strong grounds against training and instructing negroes for the trades, and this called forth Dana's most vigorous comments as follows:

. . . "This address supposes throughout that a community composed of a servile class on the one hand, and a free class on the other, can be happy, prosperous, and progressive. And this appears not as if it was a politic reticence, but a sincere and unsuspecting conviction. Notwithstanding their talk about equity, justice, the destruction of monopolies, and the pure principles of republicanism, they are all ready to tolerate and even help perpetuate this most monstrous of monopolies, this worst form of injustice, this utmost of tyrannies. A delusion so inhumane in a class which ought to manifest some degree of independence, intelligence, and freedom from prejudice is the most conclusive argument that

could be presented against slavery. When it fixes its chains even upon the minds of the free mechanics of a State the case is bad, indeed, and a reaction cannot long be delayed."

A short time afterwards the white mechanics of Georgia followed the example set by those of Virginia, and this gave Dana a further opportunity to comment upon "the essential and ineradicable antagonism between the slave and free labor," and especially upon the degradation these mechanics would fix upon tilling the earth and menial domestic service by limiting those occupations to slaves.

Notwithstanding the frequent warnings given by the South that the discussion of the slavery question by the Northern journals was weakening the devotion of the Southern people for the Union, the *Tribune*, and some of the greatest statesmen of the North, notably Daniel Webster, could not be brought to recognize that there was yet any real danger. Withal, the greater editors could not confine themselves exclusively to American questions, but occasionally took a view of the whole world. While Greeley was still abroad, Dana, under the caption of "Human Restlessness and Divine Providence," wrote in the following pessimistic strain:

"The restlessness of men under their present condition affords the very strongest argument that we can conceive that there is a Divine Providence. For if men could settle down quietly with the world as it is, the greater part of it uninhabited, unimproved, and unexplored, covered with pestilent marshes, foul jungles, and burning deserts; without canals or railroads, and occupied by wild beasts; the greater part of the civilized states governed in abject tyranny and brutal ignorance; great armies and navies still necessary; pauperism, crime, and prostitution universal scourges; slavery existing in the freest and most enterprising of republics; disorder, discontent, and unhappiness prevailing everywhere;

hardly anywhere free schools for all the population; people striving to get rich by foul means where fair will not serve; our cities centres of filth, misery, and degradation; children dying in infancy by thousands instead of growing up to vigor and usefulness; health and beauty the exception and not the rule among those who do grow up; if we say men could settle down quietly in a state of things of which these are far from all the revolting and defective features, then we might well doubt whether humanity were here on earth for any purpose but to be the sport of some infernal and atheistic chance."

During this year the *Tribune* advocated an international copyright "as equitable and expedient" for both sides of the ocean, opposed the Democratic policy of indefinite annexation, declared its belief that "all America will be democratic and united in our confederation of States," though "we would not seek to anticipate that time by violent means," and wrote strenuously for the improvement of the great rivers and harbors of the West at the expense of the Federal government.

In the next issue it expressed its belief that slavery could not be perpetuated, but would, in accordance with the universal rule of history, "end by resistless necessity, naturally, and without dangerously convulsing the state, or violently, with its destruction." "Shall we," it asks, with prophetic solemnity, "take the way of nature or risk the distant oncoming revolution?"

The annexation of Cuba and Mexico, which was advocated by several Southern papers at this time, received no countenance from the *Tribune*. While it was naturally favorable to Cuban independence, it refused to excuse filibustering or to advocate the annexation of either of those countries for the benefit of slavery, or to facilitate the return of fugitive slaves, which it contended was the principal reason for the popularity of those measures in the South. It was deaf to the appeals of all who sought

to silence the discussion of slavery in the free States, and served notice that such a limitation as this upon free speech and a free press could never be enforced. It admonished Mr. Clay, whom it had always admired, that he underrated the force of Northern repugnance to the fugitive-slave law.

It was during the closing month of this year, too, that the *Tribune* published an editorial in which we find the following:

. . . "If we regard the several States as sovereignties and the Union as a confederacy, the right to secede from that Union in case of the perversion of its powers to the vital injury of one or more of the high contracting parties, would seem to be a legitimate inference from the premises." . . .

It is not known positively who wrote those lines, but as Greeley had returned from Europe, and was again actively engaged as the responsible editor of the great antislavery journal, it is assumed that he was their author, or at least had personally permitted their utterance. It should be observed, however, that the premises as stated were never admitted by any considerable number of Northern men, but that the great majority of them contended strenuously that the Constitution provided for a perpetual and indestructible Union, from which no State had a right to withdraw. The editorial is mentioned here, not for the purpose of anticipating or discussing the great question raised by it, but merely to show the drift of opinion at that early day, and to point out the fact that it was probably Greeley and not Dana who made even this small concession to the doctrine of State rights, which was then coming so ominously to the front throughout the South.

Notwithstanding the *Tribune's* clear and explicit declara-

tion of principles, there is nothing in it to show that Dana had yet become an abolitionist. From a letter to James Pike, it appears that he went to Chicago on June 22, 1852, to be gone a week, and while there delivered a lecture on slavery, the manuscript of which, in his own well-known handwriting, is now in my possession. It is by far the most formal and complete statement of his opinions on that subject ever made by him. It was prepared with great care after much study, and while it cannot be claimed that it shows his exact state of mind for any date later than the last of June or the first of July of that year, it raises a strong presumption that it contains the matured and settled views which he always held on that important subject.

After a careful recital of the historical facts, Dana reached the conclusion that through the action of the slave-holding States themselves and the growth of public opinion, slavery would ultimately come to a peaceful and not a violent end, that neither revolt nor outside interference were probable, that there was no case in all history where revolt had been able to sustain itself, or had succeeded in abolishing slavery. He dismissed the idea of violent emancipation in this country as chimerical, but declared, with prophetic confidence

"the United States will extinguish slavery before slavery can begin to extinguish the United States."

Nowhere in this admirable disquisition is there a touch of sectionalism or of dislike to the Southern people. While the author does not conceal his sympathy with freedom, or his hope that the time will come, by natural and peaceable steps, when every American will be free, he suggests no sort of outside interference with the institution where it then legally existed. He recognized the ultimate ten-

dencies of the modern world towards the elevation of the human family in all its branches, and discouraged impatience and violence as alike ineffective and undesirable. No one at this day can read this lecture without interest and approval. The most radical pro-slavery man of the war period, if living now, would find in it no suggestion of unlawful interference, or of anything else but the operation of economic laws and moral processes for the suppression of slavery and the elevation of both the white and colored race.

It concludes with the suggestion that as slavery had been entirely given up in the Northern States, become less and less dense in the border States, and had shown a decided tendency to become more and more dense in the cotton, rice, and sugar lowlands of the South, where negro labor was not only more profitable, but better in every respect than white labor, the negroes would gradually gather into those regions and finally become confined to them permanently.

It may not be improper to state here that during all my association with Dana in the South, where we were constantly face to face with slavery and those who upheld it, I never heard him utter a word in opposition to the sentiments and opinions contained in his Chicago lecture. He had no word of blame or even of criticism for the Southern people who had inherited slavery from their ancestors. He was always kind and considerate of their feelings and interests, and while with the rest of us, who were fighting to re-establish and perpetuate the Union, he approved the Emancipation Proclamation as a war measure, I never heard him utter a word in its behalf as a means of bringing about the abolition of slavery had not the slave States undertaken to secede.

Long years afterwards in discussing the negro question, which it will be observed is altogether different from the

slavery question, he expressed the belief that all proposals looking to the return of the negroes to Africa, or to colonizing them in any other part of the world, would be found to be unsound and impracticable. He regarded them as destined to remain forever in America, and either die out in the struggle for existence, or be absorbed through the slow processes of nature in the remote ages of the future, into the ultimate composite human race.

But to return to Dana's work on the *Tribune*. In October, 1852, that journal, resenting the intimation of its Democratic contemporaries, declared:

"General Scott is not an abolition candidate, and no action is to be expected from him looking to the overthrow of slavery. He is simply a Whig candidate." . . .

Earlier in the year it praised Seward for favoring a subsidy for the Collins line of transatlantic steamers, and when the election was over and Scott defeated, it stood by the antislavery Senator as against the coalition of hostile elements for his overthrow. It adds:

"If an antislavery Whig must give up his antislavery or his Whiggery, we choose to part with the latter."

It is to be noted that the custom of signing editorials in the *Tribune* with the initials of the writer having ceased, at least for the time being, it becomes henceforth more difficult if not impossible to say with certainty who wrote this or that article, but from the known opinions of the two principal editors, it may be safely assumed that they stood absolutely as one on all the great issues of the year.

But on November 12th an article appeared which was probably written by Dana, and as it shows a distinct step forward in his social and economic views, I give it as follows:

"An invention may give the rich capitalist who buys it and applies it a degree of profit which no other individual derives therefrom, but compared with the advantages it yields society at large that profit is the merest trifle. Socialism or the establishment of co-operative institutions is, then, not reform strictly speaking. It is not the patent remedy for a disease, but the more complete development of a healthy growth. It is not the negation of society as now or heretofore existing, but the more thorough inauguration of its vital principle. It is not to be attained through the warfare of labor and capital, but as the crowning glory of the wealth, power, and prosperity with which invention, industry, and science are endowing the family of man."

While there is a noticeable increase of interest throughout the whole of 1853 in the agitation of the slavery question, one novel and important fact in regard to it was clearly pointed out by the *Tribune* as follows:

. . . "Whoever has marked the progress of the discussion respecting slavery in our day must be aware of a radical change in the fundamental assumptions upon which it is defended. Formerly all who spoke as statesmen or philanthropists on the side of slavery admitted its iniquitous origin, its essential injustice, and the impossibility of rashly and suddenly abolishing it without unsettling, hazarding, and destroying very much and vital good that had in process of time become inextricably involved with it. The new pro-slavery boldly assumes that slavery is essentially good. Because the negro race is incapable of material improvement it ought to be held in slavery."

Other subjects of greater interest came to the front, and among them the application of Ericsson's caloric engine to marine navigation about this time began to attract great attention. An ocean steamer, two thousand tons burden, named after the inventor, had been con-

structed, furnished with engines of this type, and pronounced a success. All the leading editors of New York had witnessed the trial trip, and the *Tribune* made haste to declare:

"The demonstration is perfect. The age of steam is closed; the age of caloric opens."

The next day it added:

"Hot air will produce a deep and far-reaching change in human affairs. It will enrich and emancipate the poor without injuring any."

But it is worthy of note that this great promise was never realized. The *Ericsson* kept afloat for ten years or more, and was used as a transport by the government in the Port Royal expedition, but was never a success. The caloric engine was found to be unsuitable for sea-going ships or large power-plants, but when perfected passed into extensive use for pumping and other stations, where the maximum requirement did not exceed three or four horse-power. This instance serves to emphasize the fact that editorial prophecy is infallible neither in the world of mechanics nor in that of politics.

The *Tribune* returned with increased fervor this year to the advocacy of a railroad, and also of an independent telegraph line to the Pacific, as the most effective means of binding California and Oregon to the Union. And it never ceased to advocate these measures, no matter under what form they were proposed, till they had become accomplished facts. Always in favor of sound money, on February 7th it came out with this interesting suggestion:

. . . "Let it now be solemnly enacted that gold is the national standard of value, and that our present gold coin shall nevermore be debased nor interfered with."

Then, with prophetic wisdom, it added:

"If silver becomes more or less plentiful, let the silver coinage be altered to conform to the fact."

We are accustomed to regard the utterances of our daily newspapers with indifference, or as unworthy of serious consideration, but surely no one can read even this hasty and incomplete summary of the *Tribune's* course without admitting that it at least was inspired and controlled by men who embodied a very high order of ability and altruism in their contributions to its columns. Nothing seems to have been too trivial, or too great, for that matter, for their consideration. Standing, as it were, like sentinels on a watch-tower, they caught the first signs of every social or political disturbance, and took cognizance of every event which promised to affect the public interest. So far as one can now see, they viewed nothing with selfishness, and expressed no opinions except for the guidance of their readers and the enlightenment of mankind at large. That Greeley, who was older and better known than Dana, was bitterly hated by the entire white population of the South, and also by the Northern Democrats, cannot now be denied. That the *Tribune* was looked upon as an incendiary sheet in many parts of the country, and that all who wrote for it were regarded with cruel intolerance as rabid radicals and abolitionists, is now difficult to understand. It is especially so when it is remembered that twenty years afterwards Greeley, without any change or recantation of principle, became the favorite candidate of the Southern States for the presidency, and Dana his most powerful advocate. They stood side by side for twelve years in support of every good and humane cause: for freedom as against slavery, for liberty as against tyranny, for peace as against war, for

education as against ignorance, for the elevation of labor as against oppression, for a free press as against a servile one, for free schools as against parochial schools, for tolerance as against bigotry, for liberty of conscience against ecclesiastical tyranny, for the elevation of the many against the oppression of the few, for the development of our own resources in preference to those of other countries, for the open shop against the closed shop, for the right of every man to put a price upon his own labor, and work at his job or leave it against the right of any one to prevent another from taking it. When it is remembered, besides, that they stood for good conduct, right living, correct morals, patriotic citizenship, sound scholarship, and, indeed, for everything good as against everything bad, and were generally able to give enlightened reasons for the faith that was in them, or for the course they advocated on every question, the reader must come to the conclusion, in spite of their personal peculiarities, that they were not only most worthy men, but that they exerted a powerful influence in the right direction upon the affairs of their day and generation.

They were leaders, not followers, of public opinion. They were teachers, not always wise or infallible, but always deeply in earnest and full of enthusiasm; always striving mightily after the truth as they saw it, and endeavoring to draw correct conclusions from it, and in this noble work no opposition silenced, no danger daunted them.

Dana, as managing editor, had long since become the arbiter of what should appear in the columns of the great journal. He accepted or rejected the contributions sent to him, and, not content with that, edited them with an unsparing hand. The blue pencil was never out of use. No writer was too great, no subject too important to escape its rapid and unerring stroke. During this en-

tire decade, James S. Pike, of Maine, afterwards minister to the Netherlands, was one of the principal correspondents and contributors to the *Tribune*. He wrote much and well, but, like the rest, he came under the correcting influence of Dana's criticism. This is well illustrated by a letter from Dana having reference to Pike's "Campaign Life of General Scott," and to the assignment of Bayard Taylor as secretary to Commodore Perry in the Japanese expedition. Having taken liberties with Pike's proofs, he wrote:

. . . "If you don't like this swear all you wish, but you can't help it. The thing is put through, and what you may say is a matter of perfect indifference."

And then, as though to soothe the wounded feelings of his friend, he added in the next paragraph:

. . . "I have discovered that I am necessary to you. Without me who would take the devil out of your letters, and add a genteel air of moderation to their contents? Nobody. You would be a done-up man, ruined by your own exuberant greatness. Now I foresee your destiny. It is to be president, which I shall make you. Be grateful then beforehand."

A few weeks later, when it began to become apparent that all the confident anticipations with which the campaign for the election of General Scott had been pushed were to end in disappointment, he wrote Pike again:

"Here's a letter for you which I hope will be consoling, for somehow I fancy you must stand in need of comfort. For my part, I have got myself into a state of true philosophy, but you, with those horrid Calvinistic notions oppressing your soul, and the dread of wrath to come blazing before your eyes, can hardly hope for such tranquillity of mind.

"I don't know how it is, but my presentiments all favor our being licked, and no ciphering and no argufying can make them any better. So I am ready for that, and have set about sharpening my knives and getting out my war-paint, and practising the battle-yell for the sharp-work and joyous which is to come after. And so God bless you."

And thus it ever was with Dana through life. Never cast down, never discouraged, and never accepting defeat as final, but sharpening his knives and freshening his war-paint, he threw himself into the next campaign with all the joyous love of battle that a Viking chieftain could have displayed.

VIII

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Defeat of General Scott for president—Filibustering—Opposes Douglas's Nebraska bill—*Tribune* reduces expenses—Continued opposition to slavery—Against the Know-nothing movement—"Manifest Destiny"—Failure of Fourierism—Bleeding Kansas—Organization of Republican party—Sleeping-cars suggested—Defends the press

Having failed to elect a president who at least stood for an undivided Whig party, as well as for an undivided Union, the *Tribune* threw itself with all its accustomed energy again into the discussion of current politics and current diplomacy. Having commended Mr. Everett, who was secretary of state in Fillmore's cabinet, in the highest terms for his glowing and remarkable despatch in reference to this country's interests and aims in regard to Cuba, and having shown the unfitness of Cuba as well as the rest of the West India Islands for incorporation, at that time, into the Union, it left that subject with the declaration that, "We want no more ebony additions to the republic." It took but little interest in the current discussion of "Manifest Destiny," or the gradual absorption of the entire continent and its outlying island, because it believed that Douglas, Cass, and the other Northern statesmen who favored this doctrine were mere allies of the Southerners, who were thought by many to be seeking new territory in order that they might extend the bounds of slavery. It took strong grounds against the filibusters for similar reasons, as well as for their lawless disregard of the peace and property of neigh-

boring nations. It spoke with contempt of Walker's evanescent republic of Lower California, and upon every suitable occasion it returned with vehemence to the denunciation of slavery as "imperious, encroaching, truculent, and belligerent." It opposed with all its power the movement of Douglas to override and repeal the Missouri Compromise as a "breach of solemn compact between the North and the South, which would inevitably open the door to fresh and fierce agitation," the commencement of which, it claimed, "could not be charged against the side of freedom."

The year 1854 was taken up with similar discussions, in which it declared:

"Slavery is an Ishmael. It is malevolent and malignant. It loves aggression, for when it ceases to be aggressive it stagnates and decays. It is the leper of modern civilization, but a leper whom no cry of 'unclean' will keep from intrusion into uninfected company."

It denounced "the rascals at Washington," who "were plotting the surrender to slavery of the free territory west of the Mississippi" as the legitimate outcome of Pierce's election by the Democrats to the presidency. It brought forward every argument it could formulate against Douglas and his Nebraska bill, as intended to put into the hands of the dominant party, and of the settlers or "squatters" of the territory, sovereignty enough to make a slave State of what, under the Missouri Compromise, should have been forever dedicated to freedom. It denounced Pierce and Douglas, not only as confederates with each other, but as allies of the slave power in this unjustifiable scheme. Although successful in delaying its enactment into law, it failed, notwithstanding its extraordinary efforts, to defeat the measure.

But it had thoroughly aroused the spirit of freedom in the Northern States, and laid the foundation deep in the hearts of the Northern people for that splendid campaign, which not only made both Kansas and Nebraska free States in due time, created the Republican party, elected Lincoln its second candidate to the presidency, but ultimately abolished slavery itself. In all its preliminary work the *Tribune* seemed to take no thought of its own interests. While it was unselfishly devoting its time, its talents, and its revenues to the antislavery cause, it is not to be disguised that its vehemence and radicalism had begun to estrange its conservative friends. The overwhelming defeat of General Scott for the presidency, and the division of the Whig party on sectional lines, had destroyed the party as an effective national organization. The *Tribune,* it will be remembered, had always been the leading Whig journal of the country, but its declaration, that if it had to give up Whiggery or opposition to slavery, it would give up Whiggery, doubtless cost it thousands of subscribers. Besides, many good and conservative people, perceiving the fierce determination of the Southern leaders, began to recognize that war was inevitable unless the passionate appeals of the antislavery men could be moderated, ceased to read the *Tribune,* where all the arguments and all the heat of the controversy were concentrated, and turned their backs upon the courageous but unrelenting and impracticable editors.

By the middle of 1854, Greeley, who was the largest owner as well as the editor-in-chief, had come to the conclusion that to go on as they were would lead to ruin, and that expenses must be reduced. Dana seems to have opposed cutting down the paper, but was overruled. On September 1st he wrote to Pike, who was still in Washington, as follows:

"You see they have carried it against us, and cut the *Tribune* down. I don't believe it will do any permanent harm, though it must bring down the weekly to about one hundred thousand, I calculate. The saving effected by the change is some five hundred and fifty dollars a week—no trifle in these times. In addition to this, I am negotiating for a simultaneous rise to three cents by all the three papers. The *Times* is glad enough of the chance, and the *Herald*, I suppose, will come into the arrangement; at least Hudson says he is in favor of it, and when Bennett comes home, in about a fortnight, I shall push for immediate execution. The *Tribune* folks have agreed, and appointed me to settle it. I reckon that all three papers doing it together, neither one can suffer the slightest injury. There's no fear of any new competition; three hundred thousand dollars would scarcely suffice to create a new journal to hold its own with these three, and as for any serious decline in the demand for papers, that is still more out of the question. Hitherto the *Daily Tribune*, as such, has never made a cent, but has existed solely that something might be made on the weekly and semi-weekly. The proprietors of the *Times* admit that they have not made anything in three years' existence, and also that, with thirty-five thousand circulation, they can't make anything at present prices. To the *Tribune* it will make a difference from the start of twelve hundred dollars a week, or sixty-two thousand dollars a year. This will leave something for leeway.

"The Whigs have got to nominate Greeley for governor and fight the Know-nothings, who are going in on a bargain to elect Bronson governor and Fillmore senator. Weed and the other leaders admit that Greeley is the only man who will do at all for the battle. The Softs will run Seymour on the rum tack, and it will be an interesting contest. . . .

. . . "Snow tells me he has sacrificed mining property for which he had paid twelve thousand dollars cash, and glad to get off so. Greeley has fared worse. Why, last week he had to let good lands in Pike County, Pennsylvania, on which he had paid five thousand dollars, go to the dogs because

he couldn't raise five hundred dollars. So we go, and the worst not come yet. We are lucky who are not under the necessity of borrowing." . . .

The hope of putting up the price of daily papers in New York, although favored by the *Herald*, came to naught, because, under the influence of Raymond, the *Times* opposed it. In the end the reduction of expenses proved to be the salvation of the *Tribune*, which never missed an issue, but continued with renewed determination to be the organ of all who were in any way opposed to the extension or favored the destruction of slavery. On May 2d, in reply to the ominous warnings which reached it from many sides, it declared, this time in the unmistakable language of Greeley:

"We do not believe the Union in any present danger, yet we say most distinctly that we should prefer to belong to a peace-loving, art-developing, labor-honoring, God-fearing confederacy of twenty millions of Freemen, rather than to a filibustering, war-making, conquest-seeking, slavery-extending union of thirty millions, one-sixth of them slaves. If this be treason, make the most of it."

On the passage of the Nebraska bill through the House of Representatives, a few days later, the *Tribune* exclaimed:

"Whatever may be the issue of the immediate struggle, we will unswervingly trust that the forces are silently maturing which shall rid our land ere many years of the scandal and crime of enslaving and auctioneering the countrymen of Washington and Jefferson—nay, we will trust that even the outrage just consummated, which seems for the moment so disheartening, shall in God's good providence be made signally instrumental in hastening that glorious day when the sun shall look down on no American slave.

. . . "The permanence of the Union is predicable only

upon one of two conditions, either the South must put an end to slavery, or the North must adopt it. . . .

. . . "But war has been made on freedom long enough, and defeats enough have been suffered, and please God the turn of slavery has now to come. *Carthago delenda est.* And the first beginning should be the consumption, as with flaming fire, of the 'dough-faces' and white slaves of the North. . . .

. . . "Gentlemen [of the South], you are too fast. The storm has but just begun to rise. Wait a little and you will know better than to undertake to breast it. . . .

. . . "We object to slave-hunting at the North at all. If we had the power to determine the point, there never should be another slave-hunt on the soil of a free State, no matter how great the cost. If the slave States choose to separate from the free on that account, we should bid them go in peace, doing our best to preserve amity though the bonds of fraternity were severed."

The foregoing extracts are undoubtedly from the pen of Greeley. They indicate clearly the attitude which he is known to have held then and afterwards. They foreshadow the position assumed later both by Seward and Lincoln, that "a house divided against itself cannot stand," that the Union could not continue to exist "half free and half slave." They contain the first use of the word "dough-face" as the designation of a Northern man who truckled to the South, also one of the earliest declarations in favor of letting the slave States "go in peace." But now comes an extract from an editorial bearing on the Know-nothing or Native-American movement, which was becoming active at that time. It is conceived in a broad and liberal spirit, and, from both internal and external evidence, may be designated as Dana's:

. . . "We have no special regard for any country but this. Our ancestors were all here long before the Revolution, and were all among its most earnest supporters. When, how-

ever, it is gravely proposed as Americans, that those who have come hither from Europe to find a home blest with liberty and plenty shall be permanently excluded from political rights here, including the right to be chosen whenever a majority shall see fit to choose them, we resist the demand as eminently and profoundly un-American, as well as anti-Republican. If our political fabric is not a gigantic lie from foundation to turret, this exclusion is monstrous and suicidal." . . .

The year 1855 began with a fierce attack on Piérre Soulé, the returning minister to Spain. His appointment was ascribed to the influence of the filibusters, who were said to have favored it as the best means of acquiring Cuba in the interest of slavery. That institution, it will be recalled, had not yet been abolished in the island, and the African slave-trade, although regarded by all the leading nations as piracy, was still carried on in the interest of the sugar planters. This article was followed by editorials and correspondence denouncing Mormonism, Know-nothingism, slave auctions, proposed amendments for "tightening up the rivets of the Fugitive-Slave law" and "the Ostend Manifesto." Strangely enough, the *Tribune* now came out with a strong condemnation of the subsidy which Congress had at last voted to the Collins line of transatlantic steamers. It had formerly commended such a measure as a legitimate means of keeping the American flag afloat in that trade, but now classed it among other unjustifiable schemes, of which there were many, for robbing the national treasury of its surplus.

Early in April, 1855, Greeley went to Europe, and remained absent till September. On his return he made arrangements to represent the paper in Washington, and thus Dana was left in actual charge during most of the year. He was therefore mainly responsible for its course on all public questions. His opinions are made known by

its editorials. But a strong side-light is thrown upon his personal occupations and feelings, as well as upon passing events, by certain letters written during the summer, and especially by one he wrote to James Pike, July 14th, as follows:

"You see my promptitude equals yours. You write, and I pay with equal exactness. But while domestic happiness causes us both to neglect these mere external passing duties, I don't know who has a right to complain. The truth is, I have been busy going to Westport to see my children—driving them about in old Bradley's one-horse wagon, rowing and sailing with them on the bay and Sound, gathering shells on the shore with them, picking cherries, lounging on the grass, gazing into the sky with the whole tribe about me! Who'd think of paying notes under such circumstances?

"There's no delight like that in a pack of young children—of your own. Love is selfish, friendship is exacting, but this other affection gives all and asks nothing. The man who hasn't half a dozen young children about him must have a very mean conception of life. Besides, there ought always to be a baby in every house. A house without a baby is inhuman. . . .

"It's mighty easy for you to compliment the *Tribune*. Of course it's better than ever, and no thanks to you. I knew a lazy loafer, and a bridegroom to boot, would never write anything, and made my arrangements accordingly, though I said nothing to you about it. The occasion was too good a one to show whether you had a conscience or not, or any regard for your word. . . .

. . . "I'm charmed with that picture of Mrs. P. paddling a bark canoe, which you draw in such idyllic colors. I suspect the poetic is your true vein after all, next to theology. But what I really hope you are doing is the discipline of that stubborn obstinacy and wilfulness of yours into something like Christian meekness and domestic submission. Remember it's your duty, and do it with some grace.

"Bayard Taylor is going to Japan as United States Commissioner—if he gets the appointment. Perry puts him up

to trying for it, and tells him there is no doubt of his having it, as the Administration do not desire to make a political business of it, and he is the best man for the place who could possibly be found. Don't mention the scheme, as Bayard wouldn't like it known if he is disappointed.

"Good-bye, old fellow, and send me word a week before you write another article, so that I can prepare for it."[1]

In September he wrote for the *Tribune:*

"Kansas will soon be either a free or a slave State, and her fate decides that of many which are to come after her. Mexico, Cuba, and Central America proper, the raw material for at least a dozen States, are all probably destined to come to us in time. Shall they come to us as free or slave States? This question seems to us by far the most momentous and vital of any now affecting our national politics."

It should be noted here that at that time, in spite of opposition, the doctrine of "Manifest Destiny" was a popular one. It was doubtless encouraged by leading Democratic statesmen in the North with a view to restoring the balance of power between the slave and the free States. It was generally believed that Canada would naturally come into the Union as a free State, and would to that extent strengthen the antislavery sentiment. It was correspondingly popular in the North, and unpopular in the South. On the other hand, the annexation of Cuba, Mexico, and Central America, all of which were more or less given over to civil distractions, was favored in the South and opposed in the North. It was widely believed that their internal commotions would make their acquisition all the easier, and it came in due time to be regarded as certain that if Canada should be acquired, under whatever pretext, the Latin-American states would,

[1] Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War.*

from the very nature of the case, be acquired also. It should here be noted, that with the settlement of the slavery question by the arbitrament of arms the people of both the Northern and Southern States speedily lost interest in annexation, and settled down to their own affairs, without paying particular attention to those of any neighboring country, except in compliance with the older and better-known doctrine first put forth by President Monroe.

It was at midsummer of this year that the *Tribune* announced the failure of the North American Phalanx, and the sale of its property in New Jersey. Dana doubtless wrote the article commenting upon this event, and as it refers to the socialistic movement, in which he had been greatly interested, through his connection in the previous decade with the Brook Farm Association, I quote as follows:

. . . "The sale of this domain will be generally regarded as in some sort closing that social movement which commenced in this country some fifteen years ago, and which, in various phases of its progress, has certainly exhibited many noble instances of devotion to ideas the most lofty and purposes the most generous. In the public mind the movement has been connected with what is called Fourierism, but the truth is that while the inculcations of Fourier have had more or less influence on the opinions of those engaged in the various practical experiments, still we know of no individual among them who has adopted all of the doctrines, true or fantastic, high or low, which compose his theory, nor of any body of individuals who have attempted to put them, or any part of them, in practise to any considerable extent. As yet there has never been an experiment of Fourier's social system either in this country or elsewhere. The socialist movement was in a certain degree original with the parties in this country. . . . Most [of the associations] were organized on the principle of joint-stock and dividing profits, according to the time spent in labor, but some adopted the principle of communism.

"The great practical difficulty in these experiments has been to secure a due sense of responsibility, and a due vigilance for the common good. The immediate spur of self-interest not being directly felt as in the ordinary mode of life, and the needful amount of food and clothing being tolerably certain, the mass of the members have not been impelled to work so diligently or to save so carefully as if everything depended upon the economy of the day, or as if an employer were overlooking them. Thus a thriftless and careless way of going on has too often grown up in the association, and while a few have borne more than their share of the toil and care, others have borne less. The truth is indisputable that in the association pinching economy can less easily be practised than in isolated life. Keep people apart and they can bear privation and want, if not with facility, without complaint, but bring them into genial and natural relations, and what was before luxury becomes necessity. They require to be better fed and better housed, and to have much more leisure for the social pleasures and opportunities of culture put within their reach. Between association and poverty there is a natural contradiction, and we suspect that the former can never be completely realized until the progress of science, invention, and industry has endowed society with an abundance of wealth of every kind, such as we now scarcely imagine.

"That so lofty and satisfying an ideal of social life will one day be attained, it would be impossible to doubt. Indeed, it is intimated in all tradition and foretold in all prophecies. It is the dictate of common-sense, the essence of democracy, the promise of religion. Everything which increases the power of man over nature is a step towards it; everything which expands his intellect, or stirs a noble emotion in his heart, is a pledge of its final advent; and it would be as rational to deny that the earth revolves, or that the seasons succeed each other, as that civilized society grows towards a new condition immensely superior to any that the history of the past or the experience of the present can disclose."

It must be admitted by all who read it that this noble confession of faith is worthy of a more perfect realization than it has ever attained. It was never recalled or modified by the man who penned it. It is creditable alike to his heart, his discernment, and his practical sense, and while it ended his illusions in that direction, it marked an important step forward in his evolution. He entertained a brief hope that the experiment which Victor Considerant, who had been a member of the French Assembly when he was in Paris, was now making in Texas might prove to be successful, but that, too, was in due time recorded as a failure with the rest.

The dreams of a better organization of society at large had already given way to the more practical duty of purifying and uplifting the social arrangements of our own country. The great duty which henceforth claimed Dana's constant attention was that of limiting slavery to its present bounds, and saving Kansas, Nebraska, and all other territory the nation might acquire in the future from the blight of slavery. This practical work took precedence over every consideration of a theoretical nature. It became the chief aim of Dana's life, the central subject of his thoughts and actions, and he threw himself into it with all his energy and determination.

On July 31st President Pierce removed Governor Reeder, of Kansas, from office because he failed in some way properly to protect the antislavery immigrants who were coming into the territory. Under the teachings and appeals of the *Tribune*, a movement of population had been begun from the Northern States to Kansas, with the view of making it a free State; and under the principles of popular sovereignty, as propounded by Douglas and those who concurred with him, the free State men had just as much right to express their opinions and work for their adoption as the pro-slavery men. Bloodshed had already taken

place between the factions. Further collisions seemed to be inevitable, and the action of President Pierce, unexpected as it was from a Democratic president, was received with hopeful approval. Excitement was increasing under the *Tribune's* trumpet calls. It had pointed out earlier in the year that Kansas was "the great question of our politics"; that the South meant to make Kansas a slave State "at the point of the bowie-knife and the muzzle of the revolver"; that a collision between the sections was inevitable; that "it was high time for the free States to define their position" and "do something against the atrocious strides of the slave powers to continental dominion"; that the most efficacious measure would be to secure control of the House of Representatives; that free-State men who were willing to help should migrate to Kansas; that "Northern men of all parties and all sects should choose their colors" and get ready for "the coming struggle." It declared that "the times to try men's souls had now come in Kansas"; that the United States troops should take watch and ward over "the bullies of slavery, who desired to convert its prairies into bloody battle-fields"; that if the Federal government could not preserve the peace and protect the settlers in their rights, the Northern people should "prepare for ignominious surrender, or stand ready to meet outrage face to face on the soil of Kansas." In its support of freedom, as the controversy grew, it predicted:

. . . "War will be declared upon slavery first in the spot where it shall have encroached, and next upon whatever point it is vulnerable. When the contest comes we shall begin to see the natural consequences of those aggressions of the slave power which its champions are now so madly urging forward. . . . Within its own limits let it exist if it can; but when it comes beyond them to make war on free-

dom, let it be driven back as the direct enemy of the human race. . . .

"We are ourselves as much attached to the Union as the writers at Washington or any of its Southern friends can be, and yet even if we supposed the cry of disunion was alarming, we should not be driven from the defence of truth, justice, and liberty by menaces from any quarter. We regard the Union as an important means to an important end, but the end, in our view, is the more important of the two.

. . . "It is a certain historical fact that the conservative men in the slave-holding States, the sort of men who composed the late Whig party in those States, with all their excellent and admirable qualities, never have been able to exercise any considerable influence even at home, and much less upon national politics, except as they were supported, maintained, and upheld by a powerful Northern party in which they never took the lead except to lead it to ruin. It was so in the days of Washington and John Adams. It has been so in our time. The whole course of our national history testifies in a voice not to be mistaken that the only way to enable the conservative men of the slave-holding States to make the slightest movement towards coming forward and aiding in undoing the wrong of which we complain, is to organize at the North a powerful party having that very object in view, and to which that aid can be afforded."

Such declarations as these, and hundreds more which could be quoted while Greeley was absent in Europe, were either from Dana's pen, or selected by him from the daily contributions of his writers. They exerted a powerful influence in the organization of the Republican party, which took place on September 28, 1855. Referring to it on that day, the *Tribune* says, with exultation:

"A noble work has been accomplished by the friends of republican freedom at Syracuse. A party has been organized on the basis of opposition to the extension of slavery in this country."

Other journals in the North and West, both before and after the formal organization was made, gave this movement efficient support, but its chief organ and principal champion thenceforth was the *Tribune*. While that great journal had thrown itself with all its force into the cause of freedom, it was not indifferent to anything else which concerned either the interests or the comforts of the public.

It is an interesting circumstance that on October 3d of the same year it published an article favoring the establishment of Central Park in New York, and on the 11th one on railroad progress, in which it advocated sleeping and eating cars, in the following words:

"Eating at our railroad stations is a very unsatisfactory and unwholesome performance. The passengers should eat as the cars roll on, leaving the time of stoppages for wood and water at their disposal. At 7 A.M. the provider should step aboard with his cooked food, which he deposits in a baggage half-car at the head of the train, where he should have a stove to heat water and keep his provisions warm. Then he should enter the forward passenger-car with food for four on a waiter, and the first four who wish to eat should take this, pay for it, face their seats to each other, and eat as deliberately as they choose. Thus all who want may be supplied.

"It seems about time that we should also have berths fitted up on our night trains."

So far as known, this is the earliest suggestion on the subject which reached the public. It was not till several years later that it was carried into practical effect by Pullman and others.

Near the close of this year the *Tribune* made a declaration which Dana repeated many years afterwards more than once in the columns of the *Sun*. That it was original

with him cannot be positively stated, but it savors strongly of his sententious style:

"We are Free-Traders, but not of the school of Calhoun, Jeff Davis, Franklin Pierce, and the *National Era*. We are Free-Traders just as we believe in the millennium."

About the same time a New York publication, in the interest of the book trade, came out with a general charge of corruption against the Press, which was at once resented by the *Tribune* as utterly unfounded and without justification. It has been repeated with many variations frequently since, against one or another of the leading New York dailies, but whatever else may be said, it is a gratifying fact that no one has ever undertaken seriously to prove it, and that up to the present day there is absolutely no proof to support it. Dana, who always exercised the most perfect independence in commenting upon the acts of public men, was also always the most strenuous advocate of a free and untrammelled press, and did perhaps more than any other American to maintain its privileges undiminished.

IX

DANA'S INFLUENCE IN THE *TRIBUNE*

Correspondence with Greeley—Continues fight against slavery—Frémont nominated for president—Continued agitation in behalf of free Kansas—Death of Senator Benton—Leadership of the *Tribune*—John Brown's raid

That Dana, although only managing editor, was all powerful in the actual control of the *Tribune* during most of the year, and especially so during the winter of 1855–56, is shown by the fact that Greeley was absent in Europe, the West, and in Washington much of the time. It is still more fully shown, however, by Greeley's letters to Dana, which were published many years afterwards in the *Sun*. They are full of interest, for the light they throw not only upon current politics, but also upon the troubles of running a great newspaper in those days. They abound in wit, humor, and pathos, and ought to be published in some permanent and accessible form; but as the limits of this narrative will not permit me to give them in full, and as Dana's replies to Greeley have not been found, I must content myself with such quotations as are consistent with my general plan.

This correspondence began in December, 1855, and continued till June, 1856. It commented freely upon men as well as measures, upon correspondents as well as upon reporters. It admonished, scolded, and appealed, sometimes successfully, but frequently without success. It was in Greeley's first letter from Washington that he said:

"It does me good to see how those who hate the *Tribune* much, fear it yet more. There are a dozen here who will do much better for my eye being on them." . . .

Referring to an old reporter, whom he couldn't use, but wanted carried on the roll a while longer, he wrote:

. . . "I wouldn't mind his being a genius if he was not a fool."

Having had his own correspondence crowded out to make room for a long article on the new opera-house, and the feasibility of sustaining the opera in New York, he inquired of Dana:

"What would it cost to burn the opera House? If the price is reasonable, have it done and send me the bill."

The next day, after saying:

. . . "We calculate to elect Banks [Speaker] in the course of to-morrow night. No postponement on account of weather," he added: "I want you to caution your folks not to 'hit out' at everything and everybody here. We must have friends not only in one party, but in all parties, or we can learn nothing. . . . Now don't you see I can't get into Democratic caucuses? I must learn what they do from somebody, and if we pick a quarrel with all opponents personally what chance have we for news? You remember the Grand Vizier who knocked in the head the Sultan's proposal to exterminate the infidel dogs with this sensible demur, 'If we kill all the Rajahs, what shall we do for the capitation tax?" He added: "Abusing Clayton [of Delaware] so savagely is shying a stone at our own crockery. I wouldn't do it if it were provoked, but this was unprovoked. It is a train that don't stop in front of the *Tribune* office." . . .

Greeley thought it bad policy to exasperate the Southerners by saying they wouldn't let Pierce make war with

England, or to charge the Roman Catholics with the slaveholders as being opposed to reading the Bible. The next day he begged Dana's pardon for scolding about the omission of his letters, and turned upon the musical critic who had given too much space to the opera-house, and whom he pronounced a detriment. He admonished another writer for slurring the Jews, commended Hildreth (the historian) as a good writer, but a "Timothy Pickering Federalist sixty years behind the times."

On January 17th he wrote:

. . . "Since my letters get in somehow, I am less uneasy here, but every traitor and self-seeker hates me with a demoniac hatred, which is perpetually bursting out. Lastly . . . General Shankland, of the Kansas Volunteers, has notified me that he intends to cowhide me the first time he catches me in public. Now I am a hater of novelty, and never had any taste for being cowhided, cowhid, or cowhidden, or whatever the past participle of the active verb used by General Shankland may be, but he is short of funds, and I could not think of putting him to the trouble of chasing me all over the country, so I shall stay here for the present. I trust the man of whom he buys the cowhide will know him well enough not to sell it on tick. I prefer to be the only sufferer by the application."

After commending a speech of Schuyler Colfax, and asking for its insertion at once, he wrote:

"N.B. — General Shankland's cowhiding not yet come to hand—or back."

He sent Dana a strong letter, again cautioning him not to attack people in Washington without consulting him, and ending as follows:

. . . "It will hurt us dreadfully. Do send some one here and kill me if you cannot stop it, for I can bear it no longer. My life is a torture to me." . . .

It seems that in the daily comments of the *Tribune* on the men of the times, one Benton, who had been supporting Banks, "steadily but sulkily," was handled rather roughly, to the great annoyance of Greeley, whereupon he remonstrated:

"Now I write once more to entreat that I may be allowed to conduct the *Tribune* with reference to the mile wide that stretches either way from Pennsylvania Avenue. It is but a small space, and you have all the world besides. I cannot stay here unless this request is complied with. I would rather cease to live at all. If you are not willing to leave me entire control with reference to this city, I ask you to call the proprietors together and have me discharged. I have to go to this and that false creature and coax him to behave as little like the devil as possible (Lew Campbell, for instance), yet in constant terror of seeing him guillotined in the next *Tribune* that arrives—and I can't make him believe that I didn't instigate it. So with everything here. If you want to throw stones at anybody's crockery, aim at my head first, and in mercy be sure to aim well." . . .

After commending Dana's editorial remarks on Benton and Lew Campbell as being in excellent taste, and then condemning him for what was said of one Bayard Clark, he broke out again with:

"I must give it up and go home. All the border ruffians from here to the lowest pit could not start me away, but you can do it, and I must give up. You are getting everybody to curse me. I am too sick to be out of bed, too crazy to sleep, and am surrounded by horrors. I shall go to Pittsburg on the 22d, and I guess I shall not return. I can just bear the responsibilities that belong to me, but you heap a load on me that will kill me. . . .

. . . "I would not publish articles about Rust's assaults on me, but especially those that speak of my weakness, in-

offensiveness, etc. I do not desire any sympathy. At all events, I don't wish to beg for it."

On February 6, 1856, he wrote to Dana:

"I had to meet Clayton last evening at Seward's, where I had a quiet talk with him, Colonel Benton, and Governor [Stanton] as to Kansas and what is to be done. Judge whether it is either pleasant for me, or profitable for the *Tribune* or the cause, to have had him assailed in the *Tribune* as he was.

"I rode home with Colonel Benton, who is every inch as vulnerable as Clayton. But he is now on the right side doing good service. Would it be wise to attack him for any of his by-gone errors? And above all, should you attack him in New York in utter disregard that I am in friendly understanding with him here? . . .

"I do wish you would consider my position. In yesterday's paper I see you talk of Rust as drunk when he assaulted me. Now I don't know this, and have never asserted it. Of course the barbarian will regard this as a fresh attack upon and defiance of him by me, and I can do nothing to undeceive him. . . . Let others denounce or revile Rust; I mean never to speak of him unless obliged to." . . .

A few days later he wrote to Pike, "Charge Dana not to slaughter anybody, but be mild and meek-souled like me." But this was not the end of his troubles. With his own carelessness in mailing his letters, and the bad postal service between Washington and the *Tribune* office, there was necessarily much in the editorial columns which gave him trouble. He was a querulous and hesitating man, and while he felt deeply and wrote caustically about the public men of the day, he could not always reach his subordinates in time to prevent them from taking action in opposition to his advice. In one of his letters he says:

. . . "—— may be as great a rascal as he is represented. If so I begin to see the utility of rascals in the general economy of things." . . .

With much more of the same sort, this correspondence continues on to the end—now complaining of the management, then praising it; now pleading for economy, then cursing it; now thanking Dana for a "glorious issue with supplement," then remonstrating with him for too much space for "unsigned editorials"; now praising him for his considerate treatment of himself and other correspondents, then begging consideration for some worthless politician; now expressing his willingness to give up Washington whenever Dana might think it best, then desiring to stay longer; now asking for Pike to relieve him, then declaring, "I mean to be extra good this year, and rather doubtful as to the next." Finally, on April 11, 1856, in almost his last letter from Washington, he explains most of his troubles as follows:

. . . "My heart does not break easily, but these mail features are hard to bear. On Tuesday, Henry Waldron, of Michigan, made a glorious speech. He is one of our best men; never spoke before, and probably will not again.

"I sat down and wrote a telegraphic despatch about it, then a letter. Wednesday's paper came and no despatch. I wrote one of inquiry to you, and took it down to the office, when lo! they owned up that they had mislaid and failed to send the despatch till next morning! So the milk in that cocoanut was accounted for. 'Well,' says I, 'the next paper will bring along my letter, anyhow'; but that paper came last night, and no letter, but instead of that a despatch from you, sent after, saying that the letter only reached you yesterday. Now, I have myself carried every letter to the post-office this week—usually a little before midnight, and the letters are taken till five in the morning. So the fault can

hardly be here. I am afraid you fail to make a row with the New York post-office when this sort of thing occurs.

"Last night it was one o'clock when I took my letter to the office, and your despatch gave me a dread that it might have been overlooked and delayed here. So I have been to the postmaster this morning, and had the office overhauled, and the letter has certainly gone. The only chance of failure is, says the P. M., that these late letters are made up in a special or extra package, and this may be overlooked and left unopened at night in the New York office. Pray look to this.

"Your despatch about the Frémont letter is generally admired. I have not yet taken Banks' opinion of it; but he has written me a note saying that he was misled by A. B. James, and will keep out of such ruts hereafter. Rather late, but very right.

"You can't guess how old Butler gave it to me yesterday for that infernal article telling the British how to invade and conquer the South. No report can do justice to his venom. I will try to keep such articles out of the *Tribune* hereafter.

"Old Badger was sitting in the Senate all day yesterday. He must be 'tickled to death' at the prospect of Pike's return to this city. I trust you have a supplement to-day. Thank Carey in my name for that article on Bowen. Also whoever did the Joe Bonaparte, though it used up so much room." . . .

On May 20th he wrote from Lawrence, Kansas, transmitting a speech which he had delivered at Ossawatomie, and giving an account of his riding from place to place, shaking hands with everybody, including a lot of "political half-breeds and twaddlers." According to this statement there was "considerable malignity in his speech, some of which will seem funny to some folks and not so funny to others. In Kansas, where its every shot will hit somebody, I know it will do good, and I promise not to write out another this side of San Francisco at the worst." He ends with the following comprehensive summary:

"Rain—mud most profound, flooded rivers and streams—glorious soil—worthless politicians and lazy people—such is Kansas in a nutshell."

According to his itinerary, Greeley could not have got back to New York till late in July or early in August, therefore it is entirely certain that Dana had principal charge of the *Tribune* from early in 1855 till late in 1856, and it is fair to conclude that he practically controlled its opinions, utterances, and policy. The campaign it was conducting for free Kansas was mainly his, and this fact also entitles him to the principal share of the praise, as well as to nearly all the blame that was visited upon the paper. The letters from which I have quoted throw a flood of light upon the character of Horace Greeley, and to the critical reader foreshadow the melancholy end which finally overtook him.

The fight against slavery continued throughout the year. The friends of freedom, under the advice of the *Tribune*, were now sending Sharp's rifles, as well as men to use them, into Kansas. The assault on Senator Sumner at his seat in the Senate by Preston S. Brooks, a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, was denounced as the culmination of Southern intolerance, and an outrage upon free speech and free thought. Sumner was far from being a popular man, but this act seemed to fill the entire North with a sense of danger that it had not hitherto felt. Its immediate effect was to intensify as well as to diversify the struggle. Frémont, The Pathfinder, an amiable but weak man without political experience, was nominated by the Republicans in opposition to Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, for the presidency. Greeley, Dana, and a host of clever writers now threw themselves into the campaign with greater determination than ever. The weekly *Tribune* had reached

an unprecedented circulation of two hundred and eight thousand through the mails, and thus, with the daily and semi-weekly, doubtless came before at least a million readers every week. While the circulation was confined largely to the Northern and Western States, it must not be forgotten that those States contained the principal centres of population, and when sufficiently united in public sentiment were sure to come into control of Congress and the general government. It needed but a few acts like the assault on Sumner to so influence and unite the North as to place a political victory within its grasp. That Dana fully expected the election of Frémont, and counted upon it to preserve the Union for at least four years to come, is shown not only by the editorials of the *Tribune*, but by his private correspondence:

In July he wrote to James Pike:

. . . "It is a great canvass; for genuine inspiration, 1840 couldn't hold a candle. I am more than ever convinced that Frémont was the man for us." . . .

Later he added:

. . . "If you had approved either Frémont or his life, I should have been alarmed, but your total condemnation quite reassures me. I notice that Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, S. S. Foster, and other disunionists hold the same language. It is alarming thus to see all the Damphools against us. Our course and our candidate need no other indorsements." . . .

On October 4th he declared:

"The political prospect brightens constantly. In this State it is hard to tell how big the majority will be. I bet on fifty thousand over both Fillmore and Buchanan. . . . Pennsylvania, week after next, will go by from thirty to forty thousand against Buchanan. . . . The tide is rising with a

rush, as it does in the Bay of Fundy. . . . The Democrats are terrified and demoralized. . . . My impression now is that every free state will vote for Frémont."[1] . . .

And yet, with all this confidence and enthusiasm, Dana was mistaken. He had worked as he had never worked before, but in vain. He had planted seed plentifully, but the season was too short to mature the crop. Frémont was badly beaten, and as it turned out this was perhaps the best thing that could have happened. He had served well enough as a standard-bearer to uphold the flag while the army was forming, but, fortunately for the Union and the cause of freedom, a great captain as yet entirely unknown was destined to come forth from the body of the people, and lead them through four years of a bloody conflict to a victory greater than any that the most ardent Free-soiler had ever yet dared to hope for.

Meanwhile, Dana and his friends of the *Tribune* were not cast down. They accepted defeat with a fair degree of resignation, and turned their attention again to the advocacy of a railroad to the Pacific, a bounty to the New England cod-fishermen, and fair treatment to the non-union locomotive drivers. A timely word was said in favor of finding a competent man to carry on the work of making the Central Park. A sound and scientific currency was advocated as against the Democratic outcry for "hard money"; the Dred Scott decision was denounced as the severest blow ever inflicted upon the free States; the people of St. Louis were praised for electing an antislavery municipal ticket, and when the panic of October, 1857, which it had foreseen, broke upon the country and carried down eighteen New York banks, the *Tribune* did all in its power to allay the excitement and foster a feeling of

[1] Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War.*

hopefulness. While it inculcated economy and industry as the surest way to the restoration of confidence and the re-establishment of business, it did not fail to stand for the idea that "Capital is just as conducive to production as labor."

As was his custom, Greeley was absent from the city frequently, and thus left the management of the *Tribune*, as before, largely in Dana's hands. Just what articles either wrote it would be difficult to ascertain. Indeed, it matters little, for enough has been quoted to show that they were a unit on all the fundamental questions of the day.

In a letter to Pike, September 1, 1859, Dana makes this entirely clear by the explicit declaration which follows:

. . . "I have not invented or added anything to the programme of the paper when it came into my hands. I have simply pursued, and that with greater moderation, and, I think, with much greater caution than he exhibited, the course which Mr. Greeley started it upon. I think he was right, and I think I have been right, too."[1] . . .

The struggle to keep slavery out of Kansas and Nebraska, and to bring those territories into the Union as free States, went on without relaxation or the thought of defeat. The doctrine of popular sovereignty—as embodied in the Lecompton constitution, and as advocated with such unflagging zeal by Senator Douglas, gave them greater difficulty than any other political doctrines of the day. It seemed plausible, and reasonable to the average man, that the people of the territories should carry with them such domestic institutions as prevailed in the States from which they went, or at least be free to adopt such as they might think proper, but the *Tribune* declared:

[1] Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War.*

. . . "To us the path of duty is plain. Henceforth, to the end of the struggle, we shall know how to resist the imposition of that fraud on Kansas as brethren, while we regard those who support that fraud as deadly enemies, not merely to Kansas and to the Republican party, but to the principles of American independence—the inalienable rights of man! . . . All other issues will be postponed or subordinated till Kansas shall have been fully delivered from her oppressors and added to the galaxy of free states. . . . Slavery condemned by the clear-sighted political economy no less than by the enlightened morality of our age, is doomed to decline and vanish. . . . It needs only to be confronted by a quiet, steady, and determined but constitutional resistance to insure and hasten that benignant consummation. We cherish joyful hopes that 1860 will make this plain to many who now disbelieve it." . . .

Finally, planting themselves squarely on the doctrine of the "higher law," as announced by Senator Seward, they ended all argument on that point with the lofty declaration:

. . . "We recognize no right in one man to enslave his fellow-man!" . . .

On this platform they kept the *Tribune* to the end, dodging no issue however small, but meeting every question as it arose, bravely and squarely, without any visible shadow of selfish or personal bias.

The death of Senator Benton, in April, 1858, was followed by an appreciative editorial in the *Tribune* analyzing his character, pointing out both its weak and its strong points, praising his courage, his integrity, his morality, his fidelity, and his great personal force, but giving him small credit for real statesmanship or mental ability when compared with Clay, Webster, and Calhoun.

During the entire period of Buchanan's administration

the *Tribune* cultivated close relations with Seward, Collamer, Chase, Fessenden, Hale, Sumner, Henry Wilson, and all the other rising men of the Republican party. A warm and devoted friendship grew up between them, with Dana as well as with Greeley. The paper was their chief support, as well as their chief means of reaching their constituents through a friendly interpretation. Under Dana's special guidance it had also come to be the leading literary journal of the country. Its columns were filled with criticisms of the latest books by Ripley, Hildreth, George William Curtis, and other rising men, and this made it welcome to the preachers, school-masters, and professional men throughout the North. Thus the advanced thought of the day on every subject was widely disseminated.

On the other hand, the leading Southern men, and the leading Democrats from both sections, were kept under constant observation and criticism. Such men as Davis, Toombs, Benjamin, Hammond, Chesnut, Hunter, Mason, Slidell, Douglas, and Breckenridge were kept constantly before the country. Their actions were questioned, their speeches were analyzed, and their motives were impugned. Nothing they did was allowed to go unchallenged. Every sentiment they uttered was tested by the Constitution as well as by the "eternal principles of justice."

Benjamin was unsparingly denounced for his plea in the Senate in behalf of slavery as the necessary condition of labor in the tropics as well as in the Southern States. He was mercilessly excoriated for favoring the annexation of Cuba in the interest of that barbaric and aggressive institution. The killing of Senator Broderick, of California, by the fire-eater, Judge Terry, was held up to the country as a murder under the forms of the duel, in the interest, if not at the dictation, of the pro-slavery party. The insanity of John Brown, who was hanged for

his futile raid against slavery in Virginia, was confidently charged to the same account. In short, the wickedness, the wastefulness, and the barbarity of human slavery were constantly set forth in the columns of the *Tribune*. Every incident connected with it in fact, or which could be connected with it by inference, was reported, analyzed, and held up for the execration of its readers. The German settlers of Missouri and Texas were praised for their opposition to slavery and for their unanimous adherence to the party of freedom. Of all that sturdy and industrious race, the *Tribune* declared that "only two, and they broken-down noblemen who try to preserve a shabby gentility," had ever become slave-holders.

X

LAST DAYS WITH THE *TRIBUNE*

Dana's Literary Activities — Political campaign of 1860 — Lincoln's Cooper Union speech—Lincoln elected president—Signs of secession —Bombardment of Fort Sumter—The Union cannot be dissolved —"Forward to Richmond"—*Tribune's* change of policy—Emancipation Proclamation—Dana dismissed from the *Tribune*

But neither the hatred of slavery nor the love of freedom, engrossing as they were, could absorb or afford occupation for all Dana's energy and activity. It must have been early in 1848—as he was in Europe during the last half of that year—that he translated and published a small volume of German "Stories and Legends" for children, under the title of *The Black Ant.*[1] It included in its contents "The Inkstand," "The Curious Cockerel," "The Christ-Child," "The Princess Unca," "Nut Cracker and Sugar Dolly," and twelve others. The last of these was the longest. The little volume received wide circulation, and became most popular with American children, but was noticeable rather from the fact that it was one of the earliest, if not the actual forerunner, of a host which have since appeared both in Europe and America for the sepcial delectation of children.

Four years later, in 1852, he edited and prepared for the press a work illustrated with steel engravings, known as *Meyer's Universum,*[2] or views of the most remarkable

[1] Rudolph Garrigue, Astor House, New York, 1848—Tauchnitz, same.
[2] Herman J. Meyer, 164 William Street, New York, 1852.

places and objects of all countries. It had already met with considerable success in Europe, and especially in Germany, and it was thought that it would be well received in this country. The work was not without merit. The text was clear and interesting, while the engravings were exceedingly well done for the period. The last article of the volume was an historical sketch of the "General Post-office at Washington," written by Dana himself. It gave a succinct account of the origin and growth of the postal service in the United States, and called attention to the fact that:

. . . "This vast machine, when wielded by an unscrupulous and skilful executive, must exercise a very potent control over the elections, and may be so used as considerably to hinder, if not altogether to neutralize the true will of the people. And as the country grows in extent and population, this executive instrument must become more powerful and dangerous. Indeed, no man who is not blind to what passes before every eye can fail to perceive the degree of influence which the Post-office Department already has in every canvass, nor how keen is the stimulus which partisans find in the hope of keeping or obtaining possession of its patronage. If the pernicious tendency of centralization, as exhibited in this department and that of the custom-house, is balanced and overcome by the influence of other more democratic institutions, it is certainly strong enough and active enough to cause serious anxiety to the thoughtful patriot. With so great a number of offices in the gift of the Federal executive, and with the habit of turning out political opponents from all places, lowest as well as highest, in order to make way for political friends on every change in the party hue of the administration, there has arisen a large body of men whose business is the pursuit of office, gamblers in politics, speculators in principle, seeking the triumph of this or that party solely for the sake of the public spoils, and at the easy sacrifice of every consideration of the public welfare." . . .

Dana's wide acquaintance with both early and modern English poetry, and his keen critical sense, prompted him to select and publish a volume known as *The Household Book of Poetry*, which he intended should contain whatever was most truly beautiful and admirable among the minor poems of the English language. The work was first given to the world in 1857, through the publishing house of D. Appleton & Company, of New York, and so satisfactory was the collection, and so admirable was the typography, paper, and binding, that it soon found its way into many homes throughout the land. Notwithstanding the liberal and catholic taste with which the poems were chosen, the collection could hardly have been expected to include every worthy poem, or to satisfy all the critics, especially such as were from the South, where everybody known to be connected with the *Tribune* was naturally regarded as prejudiced against everything Southern. It has already been pointed out in this narrative that Dana was slow to recognize the merit of Edgar A. Poe, and as he did not include either of that brilliant but erratic writer's poems in his first edition, that fact was regarded as conclusive evidence of a sectional bias even in literature. Inasmuch, however, as Poe was born in Boston, and received much of his fragmentary education at West Point, the criticism did but little harm to Dana or the book. It must be confessed, however, that a sharp review in one of the magazines had the merit of calling Dana's attention anew to the whole list of American poets, which resulted in the selection of Poe's "Annabel Lee," "The Bells," and "The Raven," as well as many others from both native and foreign authors, for the next and subsequent editions of the work. *The Household Book* has been frequently imitated under one name or another. It was thoroughly revised by Dana in 1884, has gone through many editions, and still justly holds its place as

the best volume of the kind published in the English language. It is to be observed, however, that the compiler's modesty was too great to permit him to include even one of his own poems within its ample limits.

The success which crowned this work from the start soon led to another and far more ambitious undertaking. Dana's indefatigable industry and wide range of reading had stored his mind with an extraordinary variety and amount of learning. Like Diderot, who compiled the first encyclopædia worthy of the name, he was undoubtedly at that time among the very few men of his country qualified for a work of that character, and this his publishers were not slow to recognize. The time seemed to be favorable, and accordingly his proposal that he and his old associate, George Ripley, should undertake the preparation of *The American Cyclopædia* was accepted. It was a work of considerable magnitude, requiring not only much capital, but the co-operation of many brains. It necessarily involved the organization of a staff of associate editors, revisers, and contributors covering the entire range of human knowledge, and especially of history, science, art, and literature. It might properly be said that Dana was already fully employed as managing editor of the *Tribune*, and, as has been shown, he was also devoted heart and soul to the war against the spread of slavery; but he did not hesitate to take on this new task. With Ripley to give personal attention to the editorial and administrative bureau, he grappled with the work, and by giving to it all the time he could spare from the *Tribune*, from his family, and from rest, he did his full share to the satisfaction of his associates and the publishers, and with their help carried the undertaking rapidly to a successful conclusion. The first volume was published in 1858, and the rest followed at regular intervals till 1863, when the last was completed. It was, of course, criticised by specialists, but in

spite of the hard times it proved to be a great success. It was thoroughly revised in 1873–76 by the original editors, aided by many additional writers, and may still be regarded as the principal American work of its time.

As might be supposed, his receipts from the copyright on these works, although intermittent, proved to be an important addition to Dana's income. He had become a shareholder in the *Tribune* on his return from Europe in 1849, and his salary as managing editor had been increased first to twenty-five, then to forty, and finally to fifty dollars per week, so that his earnings, his dividends, and his copyrights enabled him and his family to live in great comfort, if not in luxury, till the outbreak of the war between the States. With the large amount of literary and journalistic work which he carried on, especially for six or eight years prior to his separation from the *Tribune*, it may be fairly assumed that he found but little time for actual composition. As a matter of fact, he did less and less editorial writing himself, and what he did becomes more and more difficult from this time on to identify. Here and there a trenchant paragraph or a short editorial summing up an argument which had been carried on mainly by others, or "putting the cracker" to an article sent in by a member of the editorial staff, was the extent of his daily contribution. His work, like that of a skilful general, was rather in planning the campaign, making the orders and assignments, and seeing that the various movements conformed to the plans of the day, than in doing all the fighting himself. To the selection of his correspondents and his regular contributors he gave his personal attention, and to the very end displayed unusual skill and uncommon judgment. While managing editor of the *Tribune* he acquired the habit of making up the daily paper, and his remarkable skill in this part of the work was conceded by all.

During the whole of 1860-61 the country was convulsed by the heated discussion of slavery and the policy of the pro-slavery party. The *Tribune's* main contention, as already stated, was that slavery should not be interfered with in the States where it legally existed, nor should it be carried into or be established in any territory of the United States. This doctrine had been adopted by the Republican party, and that party was growing rapidly throughout the Northern States, and consequently the Southern States were becoming more and more apprehensive of the outcome of the discussion. Their representatives gave repeated warning that the triumph of the Republican, or Black Republican party, as they preferred to call it, would be followed by the secession of the slave States and the destruction of the Union; but the *Tribune* was incredulous. While it deprecated and derided such threats, it asserted its right and its intention to continue the discussion till the question was settled.

As usual, Greeley was frequently absent, and this left Dana much of the time in practical control. As the discussion progressed and the excitement became greater and greater, two currents of thought starting from a common basis began to show themselves in the columns of the paper. Both were unrelenting in hostility to slavery and the Democratic party, but while one showed a disposition to admit the possibility of peaceable secession, the other stoutly contended that the Union was in its very nature indissoluble, and must be maintained in its integrity at every cost. That the former reflected the personal views of Greeley, and for a time became the policy of the *Tribune*, cannot be doubted. It is equally certain that the latter embodied the opinions of Dana, and ultimately became the dominant note of the Union men everywhere, whether they belonged to the Republican or to the Democratic party.

Without attempting an elaborate analysis and comparison of the characteristics of these notable men, enough has already been quoted from their writings to show that Dana was the more virile and vigorous of the two. He was bolder, more aggressive, and more uncompromising in his conduct and opinions. His nerves were steadier, his muscles harder, his vision clearer, and his capacity for work greater. There is reason to believe that Dana stood with Greeley in resenting the treatment of the latter by Seward and Weed. It is now known that Greeley, notwithstanding his modesty, his personal peculiarities, and his long and faithful support of his friends as the great men of the Empire State, had political ambitions of his own, and deeply resented their failure to present and advocate his claims to the party of which they were members. He wanted to be senator, governor, or a cabinet minister. He might even have accepted a diplomatic mission, and yet this fact seems never to have occurred to either Seward or Weed. Greeley finally became frank enough to avow it, in a pathetic letter which dissolved forever the political partnership between Seward, Weed, and himself. Dana naturally favored his political aspirations, and did what he could to make him governor and senator. He also stood with him in his indifference, if not in his opposition, to the nomination of Seward for the presidency. The *Tribune* was of course in favor of whomsoever it believed could be elected, and yet it is certain that it did not at any time feel that Seward was the strongest man in the party. It is also certain that neither of its editors was primarily for him, unless it should become apparent before the convention was held that no Republican could be elected. In other words, while they could not do otherwise than support the candidate of the party, whoever he might be, they were willing that it should be Seward only in case it became reasonably certain that any Republican would

be beaten. And yet its three candidates, in the order of preference, were Seward, Chase, and Bates. No one in the East had yet thought of Lincoln. His first serious mention in the *Tribune* occurred in the announcement of his forthcoming speech at Cooper Union. This indorsed him:

. . . "As emphatically a man of the people, a champion of free labor, of diversified and prosperous industry, and of that policy which leads through peaceful progress to universal intelligence, virtue, and freedom. The distinguishing characteristics of his political addresses are clearness and candor of statement, a chivalrous courtesy to opponents, and a broad, genuine humor." . . .

In referring to the address itself, it declared:

. . . "No man ever before made such an impression in his first appeal to a New York audience." . . .

It is a matter of history that Lincoln was nominated for the presidency on May 19, 1860. From that day till November 6th the *Tribune* labored night and day to make his election sure. It entertained no doubt of the result. It as yet had no fear of secession, but on October 13th declared:

. . . "The Union will in no case be shattered. It will not even be seriously shaken. It is a rock on which thousands may make shipwreck of their own hopes, fortunes, and even lives, but which will itself be unaffected by their criminal madness. Parties will rise and fall, factions may rave and cabals plot; but Saratoga and Yorktown are parts of our common country, and so will remain forever!" . . .

This, in the opinion of experts, was written by Dana. It was followed after Lincoln's election by another, which was evidently Greeley's. It runs as follows:

"The union of these States is in its nature irrevocable, and only the earthquake of revolution can shiver it. Still we say, in all earnestness and good faith, whenever a whole section of this Republic—whether a half, a third, or only a fourth—shall truly desire and demand a separation from the residue, we shall earnestly favor such separation. If the fifteen slave States, or even the eight cotton States alone, shall quietly, decisively say to the rest, 'We prefer to be henceforth separate from you,' we shall insist that they be permitted to go in peace. War is a hideous necessity at best—and a civil conflict, a war of estranged and embittered countrymen—is the most hideous of all wars.

"If the Union be really oppressive or unjust to the South—nay, if the South really believes it so—we insist that a decent self-respect should impel the North to say, 'We think you utterly mistaken, but you have a right to judge for yourselves; so go if you will.'"

A few days later, in another article, these lines occurred:

. . . "We have no desire to see a single star erased from our Federal flag; but if any insists on going out, we decidedly object to the use of force to keep it in." . . .

Again on November 30th:

. . . "Let us be patient, neither speaking daggers, nor looking daggers, nor using them; stand to our principles, but not to our arms, and all will yet be well." . . .

On December 8th:

. . . "We again avow our deliberate conviction that whenever six or eight contiguous States shall have formally seceded from the Union, it will not be found practicable to coerce them into subjection." . . .

On December 12th it said:

. . . "We mean to be loyal to the Union, but we will hire nobody, bribe nobody, pay nobody, cajole nobody to remain in it." . . .

And now a firmer note is heard:

"The South Carolina secessionists openly proclaim their intention of treading the stars and stripes under foot. The only security the President can have that Fort Moultrie will not be violently seized upon is the presence of a force sufficient to protect it."

After Major Anderson had transferred his little garrison from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, there follows, December 28, 1860, a word of warning as hard as adamant:

"Let us entreat all who meditate treason to pause ere it is too late, and avoid at once the traitor's crime and his doom."

On January 17, 1861:

. . . "Stand firm! No compromise; no surrender of principle! No cowardly reversal of the great verdict of the sixth of November. Let us have the question of questions settled now and for all time! There can never be another opportunity so good as the present. Let us know once for all whether the slave power is really stronger than the Union. Let us have it decided whether the Mexican system of rebellion can be successfully introduced in this country as a means of carrying an election after it has been fairly lost at the polls. It will be time enough to talk of redressing grievances of long standing and of minor consequences after this startling novelty has been disposed of. . . .

. . . "The only adequate remedy is to be found in the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and, above all, in the enforcement of the laws." . . .

This was followed by much more of the same sort. Greeley had been absent for five weeks, but appears to have come around to the position of "no compromise, no concessions to traitors," "the nation must hold and defend its property everywhere," "the government is about to vindicate its right to exist," "to assert its authority and set forth its power."

After Fort Sumter was fired on, and Lincoln's call for troops had been sent out, the cry from the *Tribune* has no uncertain sound:

. . . "We are at war. Let us cease mere fending off and strike home. . . . There has been a good deal of discussion of the propriety of allowing 'the Southern States' to separate themselves from the Union and set up an independent slaveholding government for themselves. But in face of the glorious, the sublime uprising of the unanimous and devoted people, this idea has become obsolete. . . .

. . . "It is now evident—and all men will do well to shape their calculations accordingly—that the Union cannot be dissolved. There cannot be two rival and competing governments within the boundaries of the United States. The territorial integrity and the political unity of the nation are to be preserved at whatever cost. Rebellion is to be put down, and not treated with. . . .

. . . "This is the meaning of every throb in the great popular heart, now beating with noblest purposes, and animated as it were by a divine inspiration. The freemen in this country understand this well; they know the obstacles; they appreciate the difficulties in their way. They perceive the struggle will be a long and bloody one. They see their enemy, and underrate neither his resources nor his desperation. But they are determined to fight no half battle with him. . . .

. . . "The business of this nation to-day is the annihilation of rebellion and the preservation of the national integrity. . . . That this end will be attained through perils, sacrifices, discouragements, disasters even, we know; but

it will secure a noble heritage of peace and prosperity to our country and our children. Through the Red Sea, not around it, lies the appointed way to the Land of Promise, and it will be steadfastly trodden by a brave and loyal people."

That Greeley approved this patriotic programme, there is no reason to doubt, but that he penned it can hardly be conceived. It is as certain as any unproven thing can be that it was Dana's brain which conceived it and Dana's hand that wrote it.

About the middle of May, 1861, the *Tribune* began to discuss the feasibility of a movement on Richmond; by the first of June it had begun to cry, "Onward," and by the end of that month its columns bristled with:

. . . "The Nation's war-cry—Forward to Richmond! Forward to Richmond! The Rebel Congress must not be allowed to meet there on July 20th! By that date the place must be held by the National army!"

And this was kept up with but little variation till the defeat of McDowell's army at Bull Run put a violent end to it.

It was for years supposed that Dana himself wrote the article, "Forward to Richmond," but Dana said, in later years, that it was written by a regular contributor, Fitz-Henry Warren, of Iowa. There is not the slightest doubt, however, that Dana was directly responsible for its publication, and for its constant reiteration in the columns of the *Tribune*. It is also certain that when disaster overtook the national army, Greeley made haste to declare, in a letter dated July 23d, filling an entire column of the *Tribune*, over his own signature:

. . . "I wish to be distinctly understood as not seeking to be relieved from any responsibility for urging the advance

of the Union army in Virginia, though the precise phrase, 'Forward to Richmond,' was not mine, and I would have preferred not to reiterate it. Henceforth I bar all criticism in these columns on army movements. Now let the wolves howl on! I do not believe they can goad me into another personal letter." . . .

In reply to this the paper was urged by a correspondent to continue its military criticism of the government and its efforts to stimulate the army into activity, but declined on the ground that it had reached its conclusion after "sleepless nights of thought," and that it could not stand the criticism of itself that followed the disaster of Bull Run. Not content with this, it hastened to declare anew, July 29th:

. . . "If the States that hate the Union—mean to destroy the Union, were resolved to make war on the Union—had been willing to depart peaceably, and to arrange quietly and decently the terms of separation, we alone among the people of the free States expressed a willingness to let them go. But they would not go in that way. They set themselves to stealing arsenals, fortifications, and custom-houses, that were the property of the Nation. From that hour it has never been possible to let them go." . . .

On August 6th the *Tribune* declared:

. . . "The only hope of the South, did they but know it, is in their defeat. For the North, defeat, even though only the qualified disaster that comes through compromise and diplomacy, is remediless destruction preceded by years of the bitterest shame, and this we must acknowledge without shrinking, avoid with the forethought of the wise, strive against with the valor of the brave."

That the first of the above paragraphs is Greeley's, and the last Dana's, is evident from their form as well as from

their substance. The paper immediately after the defeat at Bull Run took strong ground in favor of reorganizing the cabinet, and continued to support such a reorganization till September, when the President declared that it was his firm belief that the public service could not be improved, and would be probably weakened by any change in the cabinet. Thereupon the *Tribune* changed its tone, and asserted that "the time and strength devoted to effecting a change in the cabinet might be more profitably employed."

While it is not positively known who was responsible for this change of attitude, it was doubtless Greeley. On the other hand, a few days later, the paper published an editorial in which it said, with all the foresight of a seer:

"Our European advisers, who marvel that we do not let the revolted States go, and thus end the ruinous strife, are darkening counsel by words without knowledge. There is no road to peace which does not lead across fields destined to be made memorable by battles yet unfought."

That this was Dana's cannot be positively asserted, but as it lay within the province of the managing editor to insert it, the responsibility for it rested on him, even if he did not write it.

During the closing days of the year the *Tribune* brought forward the proposition that the war could be ended within ninety days if the President would issue his proclamation that

"Slave-holding by rebels is not recognized by the government of the United States."

And this idea was reiterated at intervals till shortly after the battle of Antietam (September 17, 1862), when President Lincoln, in recognition of a growing demand from

the people, issued, September 22d, his ever-memorable Emancipation Proclamation, which took effect January 1, 1863, and finally put an end forever to slavery in the United States. Who first formulated this demand it would be impossible to ascertain at this late day, though it is known that it was not favorably considered by Lincoln till he became convinced that he could properly issue it as a war measure. It is worthy of remark that it never received the active support of the army, in whose ranks the love of the Union, and the determination to save it, rather than the hatred of slavery, were always the controlling sentiments. The radical abolitionists were in favor of it from the first, and as the war progressed the more radical Republicans, of whom Greeley was the acknowledged leader, gave it their support. The credit of its early and continued advocacy by the *Tribune* should therefore be assigned to him rather than to Dana. It is to be observed that this proclamation was at the time of its issue a moral rather than a practical measure, a theoretical rather than an effective exercise of the war power. It was regarded by many as premature, because our armies had not yet gained a sufficient foothold in the South to completely enforce the government's policies, and it may be questioned even to-day if it did not at the time do more harm in the border States than good in those farther South.

And so it was to the end. Greeley stood for the abstract and even for the fanciful, while Dana stood for those practical and aggressive measures upon which the nation must necessarily depend for the suppression of the rebellion and the re-establishment of the Union. Two distinct streams of thought, dividing generally on the lines just indicated, continued to mark the policy of the *Tribune*, and yet there was no positive break between Greeley and his managing editor. They continued on good, if not

cordial terms, each doing his regular work to the end. They had concurred in praising McClellan's conduct in West Virginia, and in hailing his appointment to command and lead the Army of the Potomac. They apparently began to lose faith in him, to doubt his ability, and to chafe under his inactivity at the same time. They united in praising Grant's success at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, and might have consoled each other with the assurance that the policy of "onward to victory" was fully vindicated in the West, notwithstanding its failure in the East—that it was a question of leaders, rather than of theories—of relative readiness and resources, rather than of perfect organization and correct strategy. So far as can be ascertained, they had no differences as to the wisdom of removing Simon Cameron, or of appointing Edwin M. Stanton (January 13, 1862) as Secretary of War. They concurred in predicting that his successor would "organize victory." Finally, if they did not join in recommending the removal of McClellan from the command of all the Union armies, they agreed that it was proper, when his campaign actually began, to limit him to the sole command of the Army of the Potomac. If they were not the first actually to warn him against political activities, they were among the first to suspect him of political ambitions.

But there was no external sign of disagreement, much less of a positive rupture, till Dana received notice at his desk that his services were no longer required. This notice was conveyed to him by direction of the board of managers, but they assigned no reason for their action, nor did they or any one else ever give him an authoritative statement of what they had based it upon. It is worthy of note, however, that Dana accepted his dismissal, unexpected as it certainly was, without question, and at once began preparations for a new career. He knew, without formal explanation, that the differences between

Greeley and himself were not personal, but temperamental, not a matter of habit, but of character. He felt that they were radical and irreconcilable, and recognizing Greeley's prior, though far from controlling interest,[1] chose rather to submit than to resist.

No one who knew the men can read this narrative or the *Tribune* for the period under consideration without reaching the conclusion that while Dana may have been dismissed primarily for publishing and reiterating the cry of "Forward to Richmond," which Greeley formally repudiated immediately after the battle of Bull Run, the real reason was that Dana was too aggressive, too positive, too self-confident, and too active to travel longer in harmony with Greeley. Their divergent natures, not less than their divergent opinions about the war, had brought them to the parting of the ways. It was doubtless better for both that they should separate, and this view of it was set forth later in a personal letter which Oliver Johnson, one of the board of managers, wrote to Dana on May 27, 1865. In this letter he says:

. . . "Well, I have been reminded of this 'little story' a hundred times in the last three years, in reflecting upon the part I took in terminating your connection with the *Tribune*. If I had felt then as I did not long afterwards, I should not have done it. In other words, if I had known then what I know now as to Mr. Greeley's state of mind in relation to the war, I would sooner have let him go off, as he threatened to do, than sought your removal to retain him.

"I don't suppose that this confession is of any particular consequence in any way, but as the Quakers say, I feel 'best satisfied' to make it. No feeling of personal hostility to you having actuated me in what I did (for I was under obligation to you for many acts of kindness), I have felt great pleas-

[1] Greeley at that time owned only three-twentieths of the *Tribune*. See Appleton, *Cyclopædia of Biography*, vol. ii., p. 737.

ure in knowing that you filled a highly responsible and honorable post under the government—a post for which you seemed to have special qualifications." . . .

It is to be noted that the trustees of the *Tribune* association, in accepting Dana's resignation as managing editor, assured him by a formal resolution, dated March 28, 1862, of "their keen sense of his many noble and endearing qualities, . . . of his conscientious devotion to the duties of his post for so many years, . . . that he still holds the highest place in their esteem and affection, . . . and that his salary would be continued for six months longer."

This was followed by letters of mingled friendship, gratitude, and regret from a number of the contributors and employés, whom he had befriended, and who had served with him in the work of building up the great newspaper with which they had all been connected so long. But gratifying as they must have been to Dana's feelings, they produced no change in his course, nor, so far as can now be ascertained, did they inflame his resentment against those who had joined in his deposition. He was too much of a philosopher for that. Apparently without ill-feeling against any one, he went to Washington shortly afterwards, and in reply to a letter from Robert Carter, he wrote from there, April 18, 1862, as follows:

. . . "I have no idea that I shall ever go back to the *Tribune* in any manner. I have sold all my interest in the property, and shall be slow to connect myself again with any establishment where there are twenty masters. . . . To-morrow I expect to go out to Manassas on horseback with a small escort and one or two generals." . . .

Many letters from Dana to this gentleman, who was for several years the regular correspondent of the *Tribune* at

Washington, have come into my possession, and while they are models of brevity and clearness, relating mostly to current business management, they do not possess sufficient general interest to justify publication in this narrative. They show the most watchful care over the business of the paper, the cost of telegraphing, the subjects on which information was required, and the necessity of not being beaten by rivals. They also show the high esteem in which he held Mr. Carter as a correspondent, as a desirable contributor to the *Cyclopædia*, and as a personal friend for whose son he had secured an appointment to West Point, but they throw no light on public affairs.

The fact is that Dana was for the most part of his life far too busy a man to write many letters of mere friendship, or to dwell much upon personal or public matters in his business correspondence; or, as he expressed it later, "If I don't write letters, it is because my brain and hand are so used up with other writing and other work that I have no strength or time left." During the war between the States he had at times more leisure than while he was connected with the *Tribune*, and wrote more freely to his family and personal friends. One of his most valued correspondents for a period of ten or twelve years was William Henry Huntington, a college friend and classmate, a gentleman of refined tastes in both art and literature, and long a correspondent of the *Tribune* in Paris. Their relations seem to have been most intimate and affectionate, and the letters now in my possession, written by Dana, show that the affection which he felt for Huntington was fully shared by every member of his family. With here and there a suggestion about business matters or an allusion to the restrictions imposed upon his freedom of action by the *Tribune* executive committee, these letters abound in friendly gossip about their common acquaintances, the hard times, and the bank suspensions of 1857. On No-

vember 24th of that year he enclosed a bill of exchange on Rothschild, and expressed the hope that the house would not stop before paying it. He adds:

. . . "We are over the agony here, and have passed into a sort of coma or stupor so far as money affairs are concerned. There is nothing doing but gambling in stocks, for which the stock of money which has no industrial or commercial employment affords facilities. For my part I live in the stagnation. Last year I had eight thousand dollars income. Now I have my salary of forty dollars a week, and no great hopes of more. Of the first volume of the *Cyclopædia* we are printing an edition of one thousand instead of ten thousand, which we should have done. It promises well, however, for ultimate profit, and I believe will be recognized as a good book by the critics. *The Household Book of Poetry*, which should have paid me one thousand dollars in January, lies sound asleep in the hope of a blessed resurrection.

"But we don't cry about it; that is, I and the wife and babies; but keep on having as jolly a time as ever, even without the luxuries of other days. But we have got a good cook, and if you were only back in the second story front, there would indeed be reason to believe in a superintending Providence. It's stupid in you, too, to be there in Paris, when we could keep you so nicely at work on the *Cyclopædia*, filling up the gaps as we advance with printing. But never mind—there will be a good time for us all somewhere. My love to Mrs. Cranch, and to you, my dear Huntington, the same steady old affection which never showed a sign of giving out."

On April 6, 1858, in explanation of his delay in writing, he says:

. . . "The fact is I am a pretty busy chap. We print about seventy-five pages a week of the *Cyclopædia*, which I must prepare the copy for, and then do my part in the revision of the proofs. Then all the afternoon and evening serving

the *Tribune*. However, we keep good spirits and good digestion, and for 'constitutional' ride a horse for two hours daily. . . . *The Household Poetry* is not published yet, but there is hope for it within a few months. The *Cyclopædia* sells pretty well, notwithstanding. Of volume I. five thousand have gone already, and the tide rises still. . . . Send on a biography of Gustave Doré."

On August 6, 1861, Dana, in a letter to his friend Huntington, commented upon the defeat at Bull Run as an awful blow for which Scott was mainly responsible. It had sickened Greeley, and kept him from the office two weeks. It had been made the occasion of his extraordinary card placing the *Tribune* in leading-strings. It had produced a crisis in all kinds of business as well as in the affairs of the government. It brought the war home to every interest, private as well as public. It cut down the income of the *Tribune*, and curtailed the sale of books. Ruin seemed to be staring every one in the face, editors and writers along with the rest. Dana's publishers were paying no dividends; taxes of every kind were increasing, and hard times seemed to be so certain that he thought of letting his house. Happily the necessity for that measure of retrenchment passed away with the return of business activity, which characterized the vigorous prosecution of the war.

The financial crisis had passed, but it was swiftly followed by a crisis in Dana's personal and professional career which resulted in severing his connection with the *Tribune*, as heretofore related.

On April 11th he wrote again to Huntington. I quote in part as follows:

. . . "To put my news butt-end first, let me say that I have left the *Tribune*, and have just written to your brother to send on the share of stock in his hands as security, in order

that I may sell the same with my other shares, and pay him the thousand dollars for which it is pledged.

"The facts very briefly narrated are: On Thursday, March 27th, I was notified that Mr. Greeley had given the stockholders notice that I must leave, or he would, and that they wanted me to leave accordingly. No cause of dissatisfaction being alleged, and H. G. having been of late more confidential and friendly than ever, not once having said anything betokening disaffection to me, I sent a friend to him to ascertain if it was true, or if some misunderstanding was at the bottom of it. My friend came and reported it was true, and that H. G. was immovable. On Friday, March 28th, I resigned, and the trustees at once accepted it, passing highly complimentary resolutions, and voting me six months' salary after the date of my resignation. Mr. Ripley opposed the proceeding in the trustees, and above all insisted on delay, in order that the facts might be ascertained; but all in vain.

"On Saturday, March 29th, Mr. Greeley came down, called another meeting of the trustees, said he had never desired me to leave, that it was a 'damned lie' that he had presented such an alternative as that he or I must go, and finally sent me a verbal message desiring me to remain as a writer of editorials; but has never been near me since to meet the 'damned lie' in person, nor written one word on the subject. I conclude, accordingly, that he is glad to have me out, and that he really set on foot the secret cabal by which it was accomplished. And as soon as I get my pay for my shares (ten thousand dollars less than I could have got for them a year ago), I shall be content. Mr. Greeley himself resumes the active management of the paper, and I am left to begin the world anew.

"What I shall do, I don't know. I have had several propositions, but none that exactly suits. First of all, I am going to have a rest till the *Cyclopædia* is done, which will be some three months hence. Then I shall naturally gravitate back into journalism, somewhere and somehow." . . .

But Dana was not to be long left in doubt or idleness. His course and influence as managing editor of the *Tribune* had come to be well understood in Washington, and had made him many friends among the public men connected with the various branches of the government. His personality and character were differentiated with distinctness from those of Greeley and the other New York editors. He was generally recognized as a more virile and vigorous writer than his chief, and a more consistent and patriotic one than most of his rivals.

On September 30th of the same year, after a page of personal gossip, he wrote to his friend:

. . . "I have sent you a copy of *The Household Book of Poetry*, . . . which also promises a fair pecuniary success. Lord, how the omitted poets growl over it! . . . [Fordyce] Barker is getting up in his practice, and must be a rich man very soon. When I see him trooping about with his two roan horses, I get vexed at you because you aren't a doctor, too. That was apparently what nature laid you out for, but you've been and stopped her."

The next year, after wondering how he ever found time to write at all, he wrote a long letter about the *Cyclopædia*, the book of poetry, and also about their common friends, Bayard Taylor, George William Curtis, Count Gurowski, Pike, and Parke Godwin, winding up with thanks for the little moral lecture Huntington, his correspondent, had given him on the *Cyclopædia*, which he suggested was not needed, because he probably knew its faults and the difficulties attending its composition and publication better than any one else.

With the first shot directed against the flag at Fort Sumter, Dana came out for war to the death. The *Tribune* also buckled on its armor and warned traitors of their doom. The administration had already begun to show

its determination to repossess and protect the government fortifications, custom-houses, and other property in the seceding States. The loyal people had sprung to arms, and war, bloody and determined, was now certain. The battle of Bull Run, the retirement of the superannuated lieutenant-general, the resignation of Simon Cameron, the appointment of Edwin M. Stanton as Secretary of War, and the assignment of General McClellan to the command of the army had all followed rapidly. Dana's acquaintance with the leading men in all sections of the country was both intimate and extensive. He corresponded upon occasions with many of them, especially when he wished to assure himself in regard to matters of party policy and management. Among the most important men of the day was Senator Chase, of Ohio, who had been a Free-soiler from the start, and was regarded by many as the best man in the country for president. As one of the defeated candidates for the nomination, his name was necessarily in the list of eligibles for an important cabinet position. The *Tribune*, with the rest of the Republican journals, naturally brought forward his claims, but not content with that, Dana wrote him, immediately after the election, a personal letter urging him to give the matter favorable consideration. The Senator replied as follows:

"COLUMBUS, *November* 10, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I do not know what to say in reply to your wish that I may go into Mr. Lincoln's cabinet, except to thank you for the implied appreciation, by which I am ashamed to confess myself not the less gratified because conscious that it goes beyond my deserts.

"Certainly I do not seek any such place. I greatly prefer my position as Senator, and would indeed prefer to that a private station could I now honorably retire.

"For, of the great objects which first constrained me into

political life, one, the overthrow of the slave power, is now happily accomplished, and the other, the denationalization of slavery and the consequent inauguration of an era of constitutional enfranchisement, seems sure to follow; so that I do not feel any longer that I have 'a mission,' and therefore allow myself to grow somewhat weary of the harness. But for the present I cannot get unyoked, and must work a while longer.

"And I greatly prefer to work in a legislative than in an administrative position. It is more pleasant on many accounts. Still I do not say that I would refuse the post you refer to. Indeed, it would be rather superfluous to decline what has not been offered. Neither do I say I would accept it; but only this: that if the offer were made, without any urgency on the part of my friends, under circumstances otherwise agreeable to me, I should feel bound to consider it honestly and carefully with the help of the best advisers I could consult, and should be governed in my decision, not so much by my personal inclination as by my obligation to the cause and its true and faithful friends.

"I thank you for giving my Covington speech a place in the *Tribune*. It has attracted a good deal of attention, and will, I hope, do some good.

"Please give my best regards to Mr. Greeley, who will, I trust, now find appreciation in some measure proportioned to his great services—and to your other co-laborers. How *your* work shames *ours!* Sincerely your friend,

"S. P. Chase."

As might be readily inferred from what has already been said as to the relations of the *Tribune* with Seward, still by far the most conspicuous leader of his party in the Senate, Dana had long since come to be regarded by him with favor, if not with actual friendship. Withal, it must be recalled that he had never been a "thick and thin" supporter of Seward. They had met at Albany and elsewhere, and there is abundant evidence that their politi-

cal, if not their personal, relations were close and confidential. If proof were needed on this point, it will be found in a holograph letter from Seward, marked "Private," and addressed to "Charles A. Dana, Esq., editor of the *Tribune*." It runs as follows:

"WASHINGTON, *January* 27, 1859.

"MY DEAR DANA,—I am glad that you have explained the discordance in the reports of the debate in the Spanish Cortes. I will add a note of it to my speech in the pamphlet publication.

"For three years I have regarded this Cuba demonstration as the most dangerous one to us that the Democracy could get up, and when it came at last, it was made a subject of anxious and careful discussion. It was apparent to me that the scheme had not yet embodied any such partisan support as could carry it through Congress, and that it could easily be pushed aside and be rendered harmless, if the Republican party should not in its zeal accept and assume the false issue it tendered, and so drive the Democracy into Union. I felt on the other side the embarrassment which might result from a manifest disinclination to meet so plaguy a proposition boldly. But our Northwestern friends told me, what I knew instinctively to be true, that to suffer the issue to go out as the Democrats had expected it to be made up would be disastrous to us in their part of the Union, What was done finally was in full consideration and agreement, and entirely satisfactory to all sides. When the subject comes up again we must meet it as we best can. We are anxious to draw out some Southern opposition, and this may be expected, if we do not too readily and selfishly appropriate the resistance to it to our own party uses. I expect Mr. Crittenden and Mr. Bell to oppose it, Mr. Hammond to vote against it, and some others, whom I will not name, to be relentless in their support.

"I see that the *Post*, usually so very right, calls for a more decided activity on our side. If you can do anything in the emergency to reconcile our friends to the system of defence

we are making, you will do a great good. I think ridicule, not pure argument, the most safe and effective way of disposing of it. To talk of the danger of war from it is just what the movers want us to do. The most effective, the only effective point of Mr. Toombs's reply to me was that when he perverted a remark of mine into a deprecation of war with France and England. It would be killed in an hour if we of the opposition could avow ourselves in favor of such a war. Faithfully yours,

"William H. Seward."

In view of the fact that Seward remained to the date of the inauguration the acknowledged leader of the Free-soilers and Republicans in Congress, and afterwards, as Lincoln's most conspicuous rival for the presidency, was selected to fill the high office of Secretary of State, it may be fairly assumed that he had not changed his attitude towards Dana, even though the latter was no longer connected with the *Tribune*.

But this is not all. The hearty support which that journal had from the first given to a vigorous prosecution of the war, and especially the aggressive views which the managing editor was now generally known to entertain in reference to the methods and plans of carrying it on, had secured for Dana the approval and friendship of a far more powerful and important friend in the cabinet than even Seward. I refer, of course, to Stanton, the new Secretary of War, and in order to remove all doubt as to the personal and official relations between them, I shall in the next chapter quote freely from the correspondence which passed between them, from the beginning of their acquaintance to the end of the war period.

XI

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

Dana at Washington—Stanton Secretary of War—Course of the *Tribune*—Auditor of accounts at Cairo—Visits Memphis—Makes Acquaintance of Grant and Rawlins

The government, now in the throes of the great conflict, needed the services of every loyal man. The previous administration had been reinforced and encouraged by Black, Holt, and Stanton. These strong men had done much to revive the sinking spirits of the country, but as Stanton alone had found a place in Lincoln's cabinet much still needed to be done to restore order, promote efficiency, and re-establish confidence.

Fortunately, Dana's work in building up the Republican party and electing a president to carry out its policies was now at an end, but the war for the Union, although well under way, was not in a hopeful condition. Large armies had been raised, but the administration still needed men to direct and fight rather than to talk and write. Dana had made Lincoln's acquaintance, and was well known to most of the cabinet, especially to Seward and Chase. While Seward had but little reason to regard him or any other *Tribune* man as a personal friend, no one knew better than he that Dana was devoted heart and soul to the Union and was in every way qualified to represent the country abroad. Consequently, it was intimated that he could have a diplomatic position, but this he declined to consider. He felt that having taken such a prominent part in the discus-

sions which preceded the war he should not absent himself from the country under any pretext whatever, but should find a field nearer home in which he could more suitably display his patriotism. Chase wanted to employ him in connection with the Treasury, and suggested that it would be an important service to the country if he would interest himself in purchasing and bringing out cotton from such parts of the Mississippi Valley as had been occupied by the Federal army. England, having early thrown her influence against the Union, was undergoing a crisis in her textile trade for want of raw cotton, and our government thought it good policy to placate her by doing all it properly could to keep the market supplied with that staple. As our own mills were also constantly short, and cotton goods of every sort were rising rapidly in value, the supply of raw cotton was a question of great concern to the country. But Dana was reluctant to embark in the business, and declined to do so till he had discharged certain other important duties assigned to him by the Secretary of War.

Shortly after leaving the *Tribune* Dana made a trip to Washington with a party of friends, and while there had interviews with the President and several members of the cabinet in regard to the distribution of the political offices in New York. He had previously had some correspondence with Stanton, growing out of an editorial which he had written for the *Tribune* and sent by letter to Stanton on his appointment to the War Department. The letter called attention to certain facts which Dana thought the department ought to deal with, but as it has not been found I cannot give it in this narrative. The editorial was an important one, and may be summarized as follows:

Edwin M. Stanton yesterday (January 20, 1862) entered upon the full discharge of his duties as Secretary of War. He was formally presented to the army officers on duty in Washington, who received him with cordiality. They

shared the conviction that his appointment marked a new epoch for the Union, and would not be popular with the Confederates. No man ever entered upon the duties of his high office under more favorable auspices—in all the loyal States there was no dissent—the claim that it was a concession to the border States was unfounded. The simple truth is that he was appointed in the interest of no section or preconceived policy, and with no reference to his views on slavery, but solely for "the unqualified and uncompromising vindication of the authority and integrity of the Union." It was confidently predicted that he would "walk straight on in the path of duty," with "remarkable energy and vigor," free from dictation "from the General-in-Chief," that he would adopt "no hasty and ill-advised plans" for assuming the offensive, nor become "a harsh critic or lordly superior" to the commanders in the field. Special attention was called to "the treason which skulks and plots within our lines"—among the clerks and officers of the various departments, and especially in the patrician houses and social circles of both Washington and Baltimore, and among the clergy and people throughout the district east of Chesapeake Bay. While the nation might bear with the social and ecclesiastical exhibitions of disloyalty and spite which were of daily occurrence, it could no longer permit the open and clandestine communications with the enemy which had made known the government's most secret plans for the last year almost as soon as they had been formed. The article denounced such disloyal practices in unmeasured terms, and pointed out that it was specially the business of the new secretary to put a stop to such "flagrant treachery," urged him to watch the officers who expressed their apprehensions that "the war for the Union was about to be perverted into a war upon slavery," and to ferret out and arrest "the correspondents and counsellors of the rebel generals across the Potomac."

But not satisfied with this, it urged the new secretary to turn his attention next to such jobbers and peculators as might be suspected of robbing the government at this crisis in the sale of horses, arms, provisions, clothing, or military munitions, and in every case to visit the guilty rascal with the most summary punishment. It concluded with the statement:

. . . "If Secretary Stanton can succeed in clearing Washington and its vicinity of rebel spies and contract-jobbers, we believe our generals will take care of the open and declared traitors in arms, and that we shall soon have the rebellion under foot. Heaven grant it!"

While this and other editorials may appear, a half-century later, to have been unnecessarily harsh in their epithets and expressions, it can scarcely be denied that they were called for by a condition of affairs which seriously embarrassed the government and which fully justified the adoption of the most drastic measures. It is to be noted that this editorial was followed by remarkable results, brought about by the direction of Stanton. Almost immediately after his accession to office he organized a Secret Service force which became most efficient in the detection of frauds and disloyal practices against the government. When Dana later became Assistant Secretary of War he was charged, in addition to many other duties, with the general supervision of this force, and used it vigorously and impartially for the detection and punishment of rascally practices, on the part of delinquent purchasing quartermasters and contractors for fuel, forage, harness, tents, clothing, and horses. It is personally known to me that many important persons were involved directly or indirectly in these rascalities. A considerable number were tried by military commission, and punished by fine and imprisonment. Restitution was exacted with a firm hand, and large sums of

money were saved or recovered for the Treasury, but for obvious reasons these transactions were concealed from the public as far as possible. Whether daily records were kept, or what has become of them, I have no means of knowing, but in certain cases which came under my personal observation while in charge of the Cavalry Bureau, and to which I may refer more fully hereafter, Dana gave the authority and support of his office, and by the vigor and promptitude of his action in spite of powerful political influence brought a number of negligent and fraudulent contractors to the punishment prescribed by law.

The *Tribune* editorial and the accompanying letter called forth a reply from Stanton, dated January 24, 1862[1] in which he stated that the facts mentioned were new to him, that he feared they were true, and that they would be speedily corrected. Two days before he had written a letter which he did not send, expressing his thanks for the encouraging editorial, stating his position and purposes, and giving some of the circumstances of his unexpected appointment. He added that the *Tribune's* mission was as plain as his own, that he was not dismayed nor disheartened, that by God's blessing they should prevail, and that a deep, earnest feeling was growing up around him—that they had no jokes or trivialities, and that all were now in dead earnest. He concluded with the declaration that the army should move, and fight or run away, that "while men are striving nobly in the West, the champagne and oysters on the Potomac must stop."

Dana with many others thought that Frémont, the first Republican candidate for the presidency, had been prevented by political intrigue from having a fair trial as a

[1] See *Recollections of the Civil War* (D. Appleton & Co., publishers), p. 4 *et seq.*, for the text of this and five other interesting letters from Edwin M. Stanton to Charles A. Dana.

department or field commander, and wrote a few days later asking the Secretary of War to give that general a chance in order that the great mass of the people who had supported him might not become dissatisfied. This brought the forcible declaration from the secretary: "If General Frémont has any fight in him he shall (so far as I am concerned) have a chance to show it, and I have told *him* so. The times require the help of every man according to his gifts; and having neither partialities nor grudges to indulge, it will be my aim to practise on the maxim: 'the tools to him that can handle them.'" He realized from the first that it was far from easy to bring the War Department up to the task of working an army of five hundred thousand men with machinery adapted to twelve thousand. He asked for patience and a reasonable time, and expressed the fear that the pressure for army appointments might tempt him "to quit the helm in despair."

In all this the great secretary had Dana's best help, personally as well as through the columns of the *Tribune*. The entire country credited Stanton at this time with a larger share of the new spirit than he thought himself fairly entitled to, and this brought from him a remarkable despatch, which Dana withheld till he could send a correspondent to inquire if the secretary meant to "repudiate" the *Tribune*. The secretary had declared that he could not suffer undue merit to be ascribed to his official actions, that the glory of our recent victories in the West belonged to the gallant officers and soldiers who had won them, and that no share of it belonged to him; that he heard such phrases as "organizing victory" with apprehension, that "they commenced with infidel France in the Italian campaign and ended with Waterloo"; that we might well rejoice at our recent victories because they were won as such victories were always won by boldly pursuing and striking the foe—and finally, that "the true or-

ganization of victory and military combination to end this war was declared in a few words by General Grant's message to General Buckner, 'I propose to move immediately on your works.'"

Feeling that such a despatch might imply dissatisfaction with the course of the *Tribune*, if not a direct censure of those who were responsible for its management, Dana at once directed his Washington correspondent to ask for an explanation, with the result that the secretary made haste to reply by a personal letter now in my possession, dated February 19, 1862, and written in his well-known backhand. In this letter he pointed out that inasmuch as the *Tribune*'s kind notice of himself might be regarded as a disparagement of the Western soldiers who had won the victory, and thus create antagonism between him and them, he had sent his despatch to prevent that misconstruction and not to repudiate anything the *Tribune* might say. He expressed the conviction that the despatch should not be published, but wisely, on this and future occasions, left the matter to Dana's judgment, with the declaration that they had "but one mind and heart in the great cause," that upon many essential points Dana had a wider range of observation and clearer sight than himself, and that he was "therefore willing to be guided" by his wisdom.

The result of this exchange of views was that Stanton's despatch was published without further delay and did much to strengthen the confidence of the public in his good sense and his unselfish patriotism.

Moreover, it had another important result. It served to draw closer the friendly relations existing between the secretary and the editor. The latter had long since lost confidence in the aggressive qualities of General McClellan, who had been in command of all our armies as General-in-Chief for over six months without planning or striking an

important blow at the enemy. It was claimed by McClellan and his friends that it was necessary to perfect the organization and equipment of the army in order to render success certain. Notwithstanding its far greater resources and its free communication with the manufacturing countries of Europe, it was contended that the Federal government could not afford to move till everything was brought to the highest state of efficiency. The numbers, equipment, and warlike spirit of the enemy were greatly exaggerated. Our own people were becoming depressed, and it began to be widely feared that the war for the Union would be a failure. Fully appreciating the danger of the policy which McClellan had inaugurated, Dana showed his dissatisfaction with it by publishing Fitz-Henry Warren's article, "Forward to Richmond," and reiterating the cry till Greeley put an end to it, as heretofore described.

In the midst of the lethargy which followed, Thomas won the battle of Mill Spring, and shortly afterwards Grant captured Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, and the forces defending them. The country was electrified. McClellan's friends made haste to claim that these victories were due to his supervision and generalship, whereas he had but little if anything to do with them. They had been won by a policy exactly the reverse of that to which he seems to have been wedded, but his friends did their best to make good the claim that he had organized victory by his sublime military combinations. They even went so far as to send out through the associated press the statement that the secretary at a railroad convention in Washington, in complimenting his "young and gallant friend," had given him credit for the gigantic and well-matured schemes which were now exhibited to the country for crushing out the unholy Rebellion.

Dana did not believe that Stanton had said anything of the kind, and made inquiry accordingly. This brought the

reply that it was a ridiculous and impertinent effort to puff the general by words he had never uttered; that there was a gang around the Federal Capitol organized for the purpose of magnifying their idol; that he had not been ill or absent from his duties as the *Herald* had reported, and that it was a "funny sight to see a certain military hero in the telegraphic office at Washington last Sunday organizing victory . . . and capturing Fort Donelson six hours after Grant and Smith had taken it sword in hand and had victorious possession." . . .

Dana, while still in charge of the *Tribune*, made haste to give this letter to the country, and this further strengthened his relations with the administration. His retirement from the *Tribune* was announced a few days later, whereupon Stanton at once asked him to enter the service of the War Department, and this he resolved to do as soon as he could arrange his private affairs for leaving home.

On June, 16, 1862, the secretary sent Dana an appointment as member of a commission to audit unsettled claims against the quartermaster's bureau, and directed him by wire to proceed at once to Cairo, Illinois. His compensation was fixed at eight dollars per day, with the usual allowance of mileage while travelling on duty. His associates were Judge Stephen T. Logan, a distinguished lawyer of Springfield, Illinois, an intimate friend of Lincoln, and George S. Boutwell, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Treasury, and United States Senator. Shortly after the first meeting, Judge Logan was forced by illness to resign, whereupon Shelby M. Cullom, afterwards Governor of Illinois and United States Senator, was appointed to the vacancy. Cairo, situated at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and thrust well forward towards the heart of the Confederacy, early became a point of great strategic impor-

tance. A large number of troops were concentrated there. Enormous quantities of supplies were forwarded through that place to the troops in the field, or were stored there for future use. Most of the quartermasters and commissaries were green volunteers, the government was short of money, and hence a large number of unpaid vouchers were soon set afloat. The greatest confusion prevailed in the accounts, and this made it necessary to give the commission supreme authority to audit, adjust, and settle all claims which might be presented. The work was complicated by the fact that the army in the field had impressed supplies from non-combatants whose loyalty was questioned. It had also been compelled to occupy the city levees and vacant lots for camping and embarking troops, and for storing and forwarding supplies. Sixteen hundred and ninety-six claims, aggregating $599,219.36, were examined and adjusted, and Dana delivered the report of the commission into the hands of the Secretary of War early in August. The service was a valuable one, and gave entire satisfaction to the government. It was besides personally interesting and instructive to Dana, not only because it familiarized him with an important branch of the military administration, but because it brought him into contact with many of the leading citizens and army officers of the Northwestern States.

The capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, followed by the occupation of Island No. 10, the battle of Shiloh, and the Corinth campaign, had given the Federal forces complete control of middle and west Tennessee. The army was well to the front, threatening central Mississippi and the Confederate stronghold at Vicksburg. Memphis, the principal commercial mart of the region, was occupied as an advanced base of operations, and during the lull in the campaign which followed the advent of winter and the transfer of Halleck to Washington as General-in-Chief,

became the chief point of interest in all that region. While not engaged in the actual work of the commission, Dana spent his time in riding up and down the levees at Cairo, in visiting the military camps, and in conferring with the leading generals. On July 4th he attended a celebration and dinner given by the officers at Memphis, where he had the pleasure of meeting, for the first time, General Grant and Major Rawlins, his adjutant-general. His impressions were favorable, for although he had heard Grant much discussed, and not always in the most complimentary terms, he had found him to be an exceedingly modest and unassuming man. Notwithstanding his great success, Grant had made many enemies, especially among the contractors and political generals, who did not hesitate to charge him with drunkenness and inefficiency. The newspapers had from the first been inimical to him, while several of the leading correspondents in the field had done all in their power to prejudice the government against him. Halleck, who should have been his friend, had virtually suspended him from command during the Shiloh campaign, and, before leaving for the East, had not only offered his command to another, but had actually arranged, in violation of all proper principles of military administration, to scatter the great army gathered in the field, because he doubted Grant's capacity to command it successfully. Under these adverse conditions, it is noteworthy that Grant produced a pleasant impression upon Dana as a man of simple, cordial, straightforward, and unpretending character. From that time forth, throughout the general's entire military career, this favorable impression suffered no diminution, but grew steadily both in depth and strength. The fact is that the acquaintance which began casually at Memphis developed into a cordial friendship during the Vicksburg campaign, and, as will be more fully shown in

the pages of this narrative, finally became the principal influence which secured the administration's, and especially Stanton's, cordial and unhesitating support for General Grant till the close of the war, and without which his extraordinary career must have come to an untimely end.

XII

EYES OF THE GOVERNMENT

Appointment as Assistant Secretary of War recalled—Buying cotton at Memphis—Proposes regulation of the trade—Appointed Commissioner of the Army Pay Department—Joins Grant in front of Vicksburg—Correspondence with Secretary of War

Having presented the Cairo report to the Secretary of War, Dana returned to New York to look after his private business. He continued there, or in the vicinity, till the middle of November, when he was again summoned to Washington, as he supposed, to enter upon another investigation; but when he reported at the War Department the secretary offered him the position of second assistant secretary, which he at once accepted. Now occurred an incident which well illustrates the capricious temper of Stanton, and the uncertainty of all his actions till they were beyond the hope of recall. After hearing from the secretary that he should consider the matter settled, the new assistant took his leave, but unfortunately on his way out he met Charles G. Halpine, a bright Irish newspaper man who had served as adjutant-general on General Hunter's staff at Port Royal, and had afterwards gained some distinction as a writer over the signature of "Miles O'Reilly." Nothing had been said to put Dana on guard against telling about his appointment, which must have become known to everybody immediately, and so, naturally enough, without a thought of harm, he told his friend, who repeated it to the reporters, and they in turn sent it to the New York papers as an item of news. The irascible

secretary was offended and recalled the appointment at once. Whether Stanton and Dana met again at that time, or what passed between them in regard to the incident, has never been stated. Dana certainly had a right to regard himself as badly treated, but without wasting time to set matters right, he returned to New York, where he entered into partnership with George W. Chadwick, of that city, and Roscoe Conkling, of Utica, for the purpose of buying cotton in such parts of the Mississippi Valley as had been occupied by our armies. The strictness of the Atlantic blockade had brought about a great scarcity of cotton in England, and the state of war along the border of the cotton States had cut off the supply of our own mills. There was a great outcry, in consequence of which the government had adopted the policy of allowing the trade in this staple to be carried on through the military lines. As there had already been a great rise in price, the business, where it could be carried on at all, was highly profitable. Dana and Conkling each contributed ten thousand dollars, against Chadwick's services as buyer and manager, and after revisiting Washington, where they obtained letters of introduction and commendation from Stanton to General Grant and other commanders in the field, Dana, accompanied by Chadwick, went to Memphis, where they arrived in January, 1863. They made their headquarters at the Gayoso House, and at once began operations. Dana had already expressed his doubts to the secretary as to the wisdom and propriety of the policy which had been adopted, but it produced no perceptible effect at the time. He had hardly got fairly started in the trade before he became persuaded that the business was bad for the government, and particularly so for the army, and should be stopped. With him to think was to act, and he therefore at once wrote to the Secretary of War, restating his views, and strongly urging their

adoption. He pointed out that the mania for sudden fortunes to be made by the speculators had already to an alarming extent corrupted and demoralized the army—that every colonel, captain, and quartermaster had already formed a secret partnership with some operator; that the private soldiers were dreaming of adding a bale of cotton to their monthly pay; that the resources of the South were inordinately increased by the trade through the lines, and that no private purchaser could be allowed in any part of the occupied region without injury to the public interests. He therefore advised that the trade should be prohibited, and that the army quartermasters should be directed to buy such cotton as might be offered at a fixed price, and forward the same by army transportation to designated markets, to be sold at auction for cash on fixed days for government account. He pointed out that two hundred thousand dollars would probably be sufficient to conduct the business, and that the money thus used "would be more than equal to thirty thousand men added to the national armies." His own pecuniary interest clearly favored the continuance of the business, but he declared that he should be false to his duty if on that account he failed to implore the government "to put an end to an evil so enormous, so insidious, and so full of peril to the country." His first impulse was to go to Washington and present his views more fully in person, but instead of taking that course he called upon General Grant, who fully agreed with his statements and recommendations, except such as imputed general corruption to the officers, which he had not literally intended to do. He thought, perhaps without proper reflection, that his suggestions if adopted would make the quartermasters' department of Grant's army self-supporting, and that officers and men would become honest again, while the slave-holders would find that the Rebellion, instead of quadrupling the price of the great staple, had only doubled it.

It is a matter of history that Grant hastened to put his personal views into effect within his own department, but, unfortunately, in doing so he acted against the advice of Rawlins, and couched his order in such terms as made it most objectionable to a class of traders who had influence enough with the President to secure from him an order countermanding the one issued by Grant. But before this was done Dana went to Washington, and after repeated interviews with the President and the Secretary of War, in which he claimed the support of General Grant as well as of every other general he had met, he succeeded in convincing them that they ought to adopt comprehensive measures not only to put an end to the cotton trade through the army lines, and to prohibit army officers from engaging in it, but that it should pass entirely under the control of the Treasury Department, and be conducted under rigid regulations which should be prepared and carried into effect under the supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury himself. This suggestion was not only an unselfish and disinterested one for Dana, but it was a most timely and important one for the government. The greed for money which it was intended to counteract was a natural one, especially among that class of army officers which had been drawn from commercial life; the industrial needs of the countries with which we were on friendly relations were pressing; our own manufacturers and merchants were most persistent in the desire to secure a supply of cotton and cotton goods, and therefore it was both natural and proper that the government, until it was correctly informed, should desire to see the trade continued. But till Dana intervened, with his statement of the evils and his practical plan for eradicating them, it is not too much to say that no one connected with the administration appeared to understand the subject or to know how to deal with it. Fortunately, both the President and the Secretary of War became deeply interested in it,

and as the result of their consultations with Dana, Lincoln issued his proclamation declaring all commercial intercourse with the States in rebellion to be unlawful, except when conducted in compliance with regulations to be prescribed and carried into effect by the Secretary of the Treasury. It is to be noted that these regulations were generally efficacious, but the navy, operating on the Mississippi and its tributaries, had its own law of prize under which it took possession of all cotton within reach as captured property. Military commanders and quartermasters of outlying districts still occasionally engaged in or connived at the trade, and in certain cases shared in the profits, but the new regulations and orders were generally observed in good faith, to the great benefit of both the army and the public interests. Valuable as were Dana's services afterwards in connection with the military administration, it may be well doubted if in any single instance they were worth more to the Union cause and especially to the Treasury Department than they were in connection with the illicit cotton trade which he did so much to break up or bring under proper regulation.

Having received assurances that his views in reference to the cotton trade would be carried into effect, Dana returned to New York, and arranged with his partners to withdraw from the business. The profit which they had realized was hardly worth the effort made to get it, but the renewed relations which it speedily led to with Stanton were most important.

It is well known that Grant, who had by the beginning of 1863 come to the front as one of the most important officers engaged in active operations against the Southern Confederacy, although a good and successful general, was a poor correspondent. He had but few friends and no intimates connected with the government, and notwithstanding his great victories was more or less in disfavor. Besides, he

had ambitious and active rivals in his own command, who, aided by the unfriendly correspondents, were doing all they could to discredit him with the country. It should be remembered also that Lincoln, without fully appreciating the difficulties of creating independent commands within the departments and armies already established, had promised the command of the expedition against the Confederate stronghold at Vicksburg to General McClernand, a gallant but somewhat untrained and insubordinate volunteer from Illinois. As a politician he had been a leading Democrat with strong pro-slavery leanings, but with Logan and other Western leaders of his party had finally followed Douglas to the support of the administration's war policy. The President was therefore favorable to his ambitions. He had authorized him, shortly after the battle of Antietam, to raise a special force in the Northern and Western States, to be used in clearing the enemy from the banks of the lower Mississippi, and this force was now about ready to take the field. Up to this time Grant's actual command had been confined to western Kentucky and western Tennessee, with no precise definition of its limits or of the policy which was to prevail within them. The situation was somewhat cleared up by Executive orders dividing the Army of the Tennessee into four army corps and designating the army and corps commanders, but the danger of conflict or supercession did not even then pass entirely away, for McClernand, under the President's personal assurances, still counted upon commanding his own corps, the Thirteenth, and such other forces as might be united with it on the expedition down the river against Vicksburg. Having received timely warning of this important fact, along with the suggestion that the greatest operation in his department lay in that direction, Grant decided, as was his right and duty, to take personal control and direction of this as well as of all other operations in his department. This still further ex-

asperated General McClernand; and, inasmuch as certain Western newspapers had come out against Grant's continuance in command, it must be conceded that his fortunes not only then but up to the end of the Vicksburg campaign hung upon a slender thread. When it is recalled that it was in this period that the temperance people laid before the President the charge that Grant was drinking to excess and could not properly be intrusted with the command of a great army, it will be seen, notwithstanding the fact that the President had dismissed them with his famous question, "Can you tell me where Grant buys his liquor? for I would like to distribute a few barrels of the same brand among my other major-generals," that the general was clearly in need of friends who could command the attention of both the President and the Secretary of War, and keep them correctly informed on all matters of importance connected with him and the forces under his command.

It was at this juncture that Dana came into Grant's military life as well as into great influence with the government. He had been at home only a few weeks when Stanton again summoned him to Washington, and on his arrival asked him to go to Grant's army for the purpose of reporting its daily proceedings and giving such information "as would enable Mr. Lincoln and himself to settle their minds as to Grant, about whom there were many doubts, and against whom there was some complaint." [1]

Dana's ostensible function was to be a "special commissioner of the War Department to investigate and report upon the condition of the pay service in the Western armies," but his real duty was to report daily what he might see and learn. There was never the least misunderstanding about this. Everybody of importance in that army, and especially at Grant's headquarters, understood the matter just

[1] *Recollections of the Civil War*, p. 21 *et seq.*

as it is set forth above. How the real purport of Dana's mission reached the army before he did it is impossible to state, but immediately after it became known that he was coming, it also became known that his mission was largely a personal one, which could not fail to affect Grant and his army most seriously.

I had joined Grant's staff in October, 1862, and had been at once received into his official family on the most friendly footing. As there was at the time only three other regular officers or graduates of West Point on the staff, one absent sick and two with the supply departments, I was intrusted with many confidential duties. No secrets were withheld from me. Every plan of operation and every important movement was necessarily made known to me, and as I was besides an Illinoisian well acquainted with most of the leading generals, several of whom were my warm personal friends, I soon became well informed as to the undercurrents and feelings of the army. It is now a matter of history that from October, 1862, to June, 1863, or for a period of eight months, Grant's tenure of command was uncertain, and that at times he was in imminent danger of being removed, not only for personal reasons, but because the country needed success which he had not so far been able to achieve. Hence, as soon as it became known that Dana was coming, it was believed by many that if he did not bring plenary authority to actually displace Grant, the fate of that general would certainly depend upon the character of the reports which the special commissioner might send to Washington in regard to him.

About that time I became inspector-general of Grant's army, and my relations with Rawlins, who was not only the adjutant-general but the actual chief of staff, were necessarily of the most intimate character. Headquarters were then at Milliken's Bend, and I was temporarily away, but the first night we got together we went over the entire

situation much more fully than it is set forth here and agreed that Dana must be taken into complete confidence, that nothing should be withheld from him, and that everything personal as well as official, unfavorable as well as favorable, must be made known to him, without any reservation whatever. We felt that it would be better for all concerned that he should be received in this manner than left in doubt, suspicion, and concealment to learn what would doubtless be poured into his ears by Grant's enemies. We sincerely believed that Grant, whatever might be his faults and weaknesses, was a far safer man to command the army than any other general in it, or than any that might be sent to it from another field. Indeed, we felt sure that we should win with him, if his hands were loyally upheld while carrying out the plans which were surely coming to the front. At all events, we acted on this theory with Grant's full concurrence, and the magnificent results which followed more than confirmed our theory and vindicated our conduct.

After the foregoing statement it will be understood that Dana was received with every mark of respect and consideration. He was taken into one of the headquarters' messes on the footing of an officer of the highest rank. Horses were furnished him when we had them, tents and transportation were provided for him, and he became our trusted companion and friend, to whom every important fact was made known, from whom nothing was concealed. His eyes were still weak; it was almost impossible for him to write by candle or lamp light, and as mine were good he frequently asked me to act as his amanuensis. While he did not necessarily show us his despatches sent or received, he did not conceal their contents nor his views from us, but interchanged them fully for ours, and from the first to the last day of his connection with us showed himself in every way to be worthy of the respect and confidence of Grant

and his staff, as well as of the President and Secretary of War. His position was a difficult one, even with all we did to make it easy for him; but as this narrative will show, he filled it with tact, ability, and patriotism to the end. He was at all times not only modest and unobtrusive, but alert and ready to go where he might observe and learn for himself. In the full vigor of life, an excellent horseman and athlete entirely without timidity or fear, he was a helpful and encouraging influence upon all with whom he came in contact, and with no one more than with General Grant, who adopted towards him the most friendly and cordial manner and seemed to take special pleasure in his company both in camp and on the march. In fact, Dana was in a certain sense a revelation to Grant as well as to those of us who were younger. He was not only genial, unaffected, and sympathetic in his manners, but far and away the best educated and most widely informed man that any of us had up to that time ever met. His companionship was therefore most acceptable and beneficial to all.

XIII

VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

Supports Grant's plans—Despatches to Secretary of War—General McClernand's services and character—Letter to Huntington—Successful advance of the army—Participates in all its operations—Occupation of Jackson—Battle of Champion's Hill

In order that Dana should be put on a military footing, and thus be rendered eligible for exchange in case of capture, the Secretary of War caused him to be commissioned as a Major of United States Volunteers, but the functions of Special Commissioner were so much higher, and the man so much greater than his military rank, that no one ever thought of calling him by his actual title. There is no evidence in his correspondence or the records that he ever used it, though he held it throughout the Vicksburg campaign, and till he became Assistant Secretary of War.

With customary promptness, Dana went by Cairo, Columbus, and Memphis to the scene of his new duties. Grant had already gone to the vicinity of Vicksburg, but there were detachments of Confederate troops at various points in western Kentucky and Tennessee engaged in desultory operations, which more or less seriously threatened his communications. The Hungarian patriot, General Asboth, was in command of the national forces at Columbus, Kentucky, while the Confederates had taken temporary possession of Forts Henry and Heiman on the Tennessee River, and were impressing horses and recruits for the Confederate army. Pausing long enough to re-

port what he had heard of these operations, and also of those in the Yazoo country, Dana pushed forward to Memphis, where he arrived March 23, 1863. From this place he sent his first formal despatches to Stanton,[1] but he was still too far from the scene of actual operations to gain correct or important information. Grant had sent but little news to General Hurlbut, who was commanding in west Tennessee with headquarters at Memphis, and the steamboats coming from the army below brought but little except "grape-vine" rumors or exaggerated reports of trivial matters. Withal, for one reason or another now difficult to ascertain, Dana remained at Memphis till early in April, when he became convinced that he could gather no information there of sufficient value to transmit. He sent in all some fourteen despatches from that point, but they referred largely to conditions prevailing in the theatre of operations, the location of Confederate forces, the size and navigability of the bayous and rivers, the movements of our gun-boats, the operations of the enemy's guerillas, the location of encampments and fortifications, and the state of affairs within the Confederate lines. This information was in most cases received at second-hand from steamboat captains, occasional officers, deserters, released prisoners, planters, and refugees, and although frequently interesting it was almost entirely useless for practical purposes. Then, too, the necessity of converting his despatches into cipher messages to insure safe transmission through the disturbed districts in the rear, and to conceal their meaning from thoughtless or disloyal telegraph operators, entailed upon Dana much work and anxiety. The system by which this was done was complex and difficult to understand. It therefore

[1] All of Dana's despatches to the Secretary of War and to General Grant, from this date till the end of the war, may be found in the *Official Records* by reference to the general index, serial No. 130.

involved the necessity of intrusting the codes in use to clerks, or operators, one at each end of the line, and hence with the greatest care was not always entirely safe. Dana, as can well be understood, became a great expert at framing and deciphering code messages, and later became familiar with many other systems, but never came across one which he regarded as safer, simpler, or more satisfactory in every way than the one which he used from the first to last with the War Department.[1]

In connection with the subject of cipher messages, it may not be out of place to remark that Dana, after the manner of editors, wrote a running hand which, although quite regular, was at times difficult to read, and this occasionally gave additional trouble in the correct transmission of his reports. During a raid in south Virginia, a year later, my own baggage-wagon fell into the hands of the enemy, and along with it a note from Dana, which the captors undertook to publish in a Richmond newspaper, but they were evidently unable to make out either its correct purport or the writer's signature, and hence, fortunately enough, it was so badly bungled in printing that it was both unintelligible and harmless. We laughed about it afterwards, but I had no occasion to think that the incident in any way improved either his writing or his signature.

Perceiving that the information he was forwarding from Memphis was not of sufficient importance to justify the time and effort expended on it, he reported that fact to the secretary and asked permission to join Grant. This seems to justify the inference that the secretary had directed him to give special attention to Memphis; but be this as it may, the secretary on receipt of his suggestion ordered him to go to the army in the field, or to such other

[1] *Recollections of the Civil War*, p. 22 *et seq.*

place as his own discretion might dictate. He was thus freed from all restrictions, and made haste to take passage on the first transport going down the river.

On April 5th he reached Helena, Arkansas, whence he sent a despatch to the Secretary of War containing the first information that the turning movement against Vicksburg had begun. The next day, at noon, he reported at Grant's headquarters a few miles above Vicksburg. He had been expected for a fortnight, and was soon perfectly at home and on friendly terms with all the generals and many of the staff and regimental officers. With amazing rapidity he became acquainted with the condition of the army, what it had been doing, the difficulties with which it had been contending, and why it had so far gained no substantial advantage. As stated before, he became specially intimate with Rawlins and myself. As I was in touch with the various parts of the army, all its projects and movements, I was constantly on the go, and it was but natural that Dana should become my companion. Through our daily rides and expeditions, and the conversations and conferences at which he was present, he was shortly informed, not only as to past operations, but as to those which were under way or yet to be undertaken. He got a clear understanding of the operations through the Yazoo Pass, Moon Lake, the Coldwater, and the Tallahatchee; with the efforts of Admiral Porter to reach the Yazoo with his gun-boats through the Rolling Fork, Deer Creek, and Sunflower bayous; with his rescue by a part of Sherman's corps; with the abortive effort to cut a canal across the point opposite Vicksburg; with the failure of the Lake Providence Canal, and the longer route through upper Louisiana, which it promised to open, and with the gradual but certain elimination of every other project to place the army on a firm footing on the highland of Mississippi back of Vicksburg. There was no

concealment from him. The purpose of every actual or possible project was made known to him, and gradually his mind was prepared for the great turning movement by which the gun-boats and transports were to be run under cover of darkness by the Vicksburg batteries, while the various corps and divisions of the army were to march across or through the country, which was more or less submerged by high water to De Shroon's Landing, New Carthage, or to such other points as could be reached on the west bank of the great river below. This accomplished, the next step was to ferry the army across the river to the first landing, from which it could reach the highlands and make its way into the interior, where it could engage the enemy with advantages which would enable it to gain a victory, break his lines of communicatoin, and close in upon the Confederate stronghold which had barred its way for over four months.

As soon as Dana understood the actual situation he became the ardent advocate of this bold and comprehensive plan of campaign. He communicated its main features to the secretary in his first despatch, dated April 6th, but as it was still more or less embarrassed by the idea of using one or more of the cut-offs, none of which was yet finished, its full significance had not yet impressed itself upon him. His despatch of April 8th was cheerful and encouraging, and that of the 10th still more so. They show that he shared Grant's hope that one of the cut-off lines might be used for getting the troops to New Carthage. He reported the actual length of canal and bayou navigation as thirty-seven miles, and that the river men, as well as Captain Prime, the chief engineer, were confident that it would be practicable for the lighter transports. He added that General Sherman thought there would be no difficulty in opening the passage, but the line would be a precarious one after the army had crossed the

Mississippi—that Sherman preferred a movement by the way of the Yazoo Pass against Grenada and Jackson, or an alternative one by the way of Lake Providence to Bayou Tensas and the Red River. While Sherman differed from Grant, and suggested these eccentric movements which would have hopelessly removed the army from its most direct line of operations, Dana thought that Sherman's mind was gradually coming around to an agreement with Grant, whose purpose was now firmly set on following the shortest and most direct line to New Carthage or the vicinity, while the transports should run by the batteries, and the supplies should be brought forward by wagon or barge. Dana informed the government in the same despatch that Admiral Porter was heartily in favor of the plan.

On April 12th Dana wrote to the Secretary of War that, under orders from General Halleck received two days before, the plans had been changed so as to require Grant with his "main force," after the occupation of Grand Gulf, to form a junction with Banks, who was operating north from New Orleans, and move with him against Port Hudson, instead of "operating up the Big Black towards Jackson and the bridge in the rear of Vicksburg." This was doubtless to give assurance that the orders from Washington, which must have been known to the secretary, would be carried out. The difficulty of using either the canals, bayous, or the roads, on account of rains and high water, and afterwards on account of low water, were fully described, but this was not all. Recognizing the importance of the personal factor in the success or failure of military operations, Dana, for the first time, commented upon the assignment of the leading generals to their respective parts in the movements now under way. He had evidently adopted the opinions which were prevalent about him on that important subject, and, concurring in

them fully, did not hesitate to make them his own. The words in which they were couched have become historical, and as they were the first of the kind to reach the secretary and the President, I give them as they were written:

. . . "The attack on Grand Gulf will be led by McClernand, and though General Grant has not told me so, I conclude he intends the same officer to have command of the further movements against Port Hudson. I have remonstrated so far as I could properly do so against intrusting so momentous an operation to McClernand, and I know that Admiral Porter and prominent members of his staff have done the same, but General Grant will not be changed. McClernand is exceedingly desirous of this command. He is the senior of the other corps commanders. He is believed to be an especial favorite of the President, and the position his corps occupied on the ground here, when the movement was first projected, was such that the advance naturally fell to its lot; besides, he entered zealously into the plan from the first, while Sherman doubted and criticised, and McPherson, whom General Grant would really much prefer, is away at Lake Providence; and though I understand him to approve of the scheme, he has had no active part in it." . . .

It is to be noted that while the secretary made haste to thank Dana for his several despatches, he cautioned him in reply that he should carefully avoid giving any advice in respect to the assignment of commands as likely "to lead to misunderstanding and troublesome complications." From the form of this despatch, it may be assumed that the President at least was not favorably impressed with Dana's remonstrance, and preferred to hear no disparaging judgment in regard to his friend. The substance, if not the exact wording, of the secretary's despatch was promptly brought to Grant's ears, and in turn added to the caution of his procedure from that time forward in

regard to McClernand. Notwithstanding the warning Dana had received, it should be noted that in one of his despatches, ten days later, he called the secretary's attention to the fact that one of the transports, which should have been handled with the greatest activity, had been delayed against orders to take on Mrs. McClernand and her servants, as well as to carry certain horses and baggage which should have been left behind. In the same despatch he pointed out a still graver delay at Perkins's Landing, while McClernand was holding one of his brigades for a review and speech by Governor Yates, of Illinois. While these were of themselves matters of but little importance, they were regarded as serious at headquarters, where Dana not only got his account of them, but made it known that he had reported them to the War Department

A few days later the first battle of the campaign was fought near Port Gibson, and as McClernand, the senior general on the field, had behaved with his accustomed gallantry, it seemed to Rawlins and myself a suitable occasion for bringing about a *rapprochement* between Grant and him. To that end, I suggested that as McClernand had done well, it would be a graceful and friendly act if Grant should thank and compliment him for it; but the breach was wider than any of us supposed. Grant flatly refused, alleging that McClernand had done no more than his duty, and was entitled to no special thanks. This meeting on the edge of the battle-field was a notable one. Grant, always quiet and unassuming, had but little to say. If anything he was more taciturn than usual, while McClernand, conscious of good service, maintained an unbending and strictly formal attitude, which betokened no diminution of his pretensions. As it turned out, these officers were never reconciled, but the breach between them grew wider and wider, till Grant found himself compelled to

vindicate his superior authority by relieving the stiff-necked and insubordinate commander of the Thirteenth army corps from further service in the field. That Dana exercised a controlling influence in preparing the mind of the Secretary of War by his despatches for the inevitable end will be made clear in the further course of this narrative.

Let us for the present return to Milliken's Bend whence on April 13th Dana wrote to his friend Huntington an interesting letter, not only defining his new position more clearly, but throwing important light on the course of the *Tribune* at the outbreak of the war. I quote as follows:

. . . "But you will ask what the deuce I am about away down here with Vicksburg almost in sight, and Grant's big army stretched up and down the river, its white tents affording a new decoration to the natural magnificence of these broad plains. Well, I am here as a 'special commissioner' of the War Department, a sort of official spectator and companion to the movements of this part of the campaign, charged particularly with overseeing and regulating the paymasters, and generally with making myself useful. With the generals, big and little, and one or two of them are very rare men —Sherman especially is a man of genius and of the widest intellectual acquisitions—I am on friendly terms, and of course see and know all the interior operations of this toughest of tough jobs, the reopening of the Mississippi. Like all who really know the facts, I feel no sort of doubt that we shall before long get the nut cracked. Probably before this letter reaches New York on its way to you, the telegraph will get ahead of it with the news that Grant, masking Vicksburg, deemed impregnable by its defenders, has carried the bulk of his army down the river through a cut-off, which he had opened without the enemy believing it could be done, has occupied Grand Gulf, taken Port Hudson, and, effecting a junction with the forces of Banks, has returned up the river to threaten Jackson, and compel the enemy to come out

of Vicksburg and fight him on ground of his own choosing. Of course this scheme may miscarry in whole or in parts, but as yet the chances all favor its execution, which is now just ready to begin.

"It may be that the future will justify you, Greeley, General Scott, and John Van Buren in your idea of 'letting the wayward sisters go.' But I judge that it will be long before the body of the American people will adopt that notion. The strongest sentiment of this people is that for the preservation of the territorial and political integrity of the nation at all costs, and no matter how long it takes. In other words, they prefer to keep up the existing war a little longer, rather than to make arrangements for indefinite wars hereafter, and for other disruptions. Let us have it out now and settle forever the question, so that our children may be able to attend to other matters. For my own part, I had rather have one nation and one country with a military government afterwards, than two or three nations and countries with the semblance of the old Constitution in each of them, ending in war and despotism everywhere.

"During the eight days that I have been here, I have got new insight into slavery, which has made me no more a friend of that institution than I was before. Between the lower Arkansas line and Cairo, the Mississippi is monotonous and wild enough, but as soon as you come to Louisiana the scene changes, and rich and old plantations begin. The plains stretch far back from the river, with the mansions of the owners embowered in roses, myrtles, oaks, and every sort of beautiful and noble tree, and the negro huts cluster near them. Though I had seen slavery in Maryland, Kentucky, Virginia, and Missouri, it was not till I saw these plantations, with all their apparatus for living and working, that I really felt the aristocratic nature of it. . . .

"Yesterday I went down with a flag of truce to the vicinity of Vicksburg, so that I got a capital idea of the town. It is an ugly place, to be sure, with its line of bluffs commanding the channel for full seven miles, and battery piled above battery all the way. The officer who came to meet our flag

was a smug young major of artillery, dressed in a new uniform whose buttons bore the letters U. S., while the clasp of his sword was marked with the eagle of Uncle Sam. Our people entertained him with a cigar and a drink of whiskey, of course, or rather with two drinks. . . . This is an awful country for drinking whiskey. I calculate that on an average a friendly man will drink a gallon in twenty-four hours. I wish you were here to do my drinking for me, for I suffer in public estimation from not doing as the Romans do." . . .

In his official letters from Grant's headquarters, as well as in his interesting *Recollections of the Civil War*, published by D. Appleton & Co. many years afterwards, Dana gives a full account of his own experiences, as well as of the events that came day by day under his observation, hence it is not thought necessary to do more than briefly summarize the statements he has made, except where incidents and adventures occurred which he has failed to recount. Having gained his information directly from Grant, or from his staff-officers and subordinates, his letters are of peculiar value, as showing from time to time the evolution and progress of the different movements, the conduct and attitude of the various officers mentioned, and the nature of the obstacles to be overcome. No history of the campaign which does not take them into account can be relied upon as literally correct. So far as known, no one else connected with the army pretended to make so close a record of what was done. Dana recounts having gone with a staff-officer to inspect a covered emplacement for a heavy rifle behind the levee on the point opposite Vicksburg, by which it was thought great injury might be inflicted on the important buildings of the city. He spent much time, besides, in visiting the sites of the various canals and noting the progress of the work upon them, and at times seemed to base high hopes upon their efficiency. In one instance he quotes me as saying that the work could not be opened

in less than a fortnight, when it had been promised in three days, and it turned out as I had predicted. The fact is that he soon came to the opinion that the various canal and cut-off projects would prove to be of little value, if not entirely impracticable, because of the varying stages of water in the river which must necessarily supply them all. He held that the great river itself would prove to be our best line of communication, because it could neither be cut, nor obstructed, nor be made impassable by any fire the enemy could concentrate upon it by night, and this judgment, based upon experience elsewhere, turned out to be entirely correct. Dana therefore gave his hearty approval to the project of ignoring the canals and running directly by the city, and as opportunity offered did not hesitate to advocate it with General Grant. It is to be observed, however, that he did not go out of the way in his despatches to argue the case with the Secretary of War, but contented himself with mentioning plans in a general way, and with describing events as they actually took place. In all this he made no pretention whatever to technical military knowledge or experience, but relying mainly upon that of others, and upon his own common-sense, had the good-fortune of finding himself rarely ever mistaken.

He was present with General Grant, his family and staff, on board the boat occupied as headquarters on the night of April 16, 1863, when the squadron of gun-boats, transports, and barges cut loose from its moorings at the mouth of the Yazoo, and, turning out into the stream without lights or noise, floated rapidly around the great bend into the narrow but swiftly flowing current in front of the town. It was a memorable scene. Silence and darkness brooded over it so thoroughly that it seemed for nearly an hour as though the fleet would not be discovered, and would be permitted to pass by without receiving a single shot from

the hostile batteries, but the silence was illusory. When the vessels got abreast of the town they were discovered by the Confederate outlook, and almost at once every gun in position opened upon them. Instantly the scene was lighted by the bursting shells and the glare of burning buildings, which had been fired to illuminate the channel along which the boats were floating. Dana counted over five hundred and twenty-five shots, but few of which took effect. Only one steamboat was destroyed and one disabled. All the gun-boats and the rest of the transports and barges got by in good condition, and were used in ferrying the army to the landing at Bruinsburg below Grand Gulf shortly afterwards.

With this movement of the gun-boats and transports the successful advance of the army became assured, and this raised the spirits of both men and officers. Dana had already ridden several times over the various routes between Milliken's Bend and New Carthage, and had come to see how impossible it was to use the narrow canals and the tortuous bayous, because of the overhanging trees, and how simple it was for the troops to make their way indefinitely along the levees, or through the plantations which were not yet flooded, till a crossing-place could be found. Grand Gulf, just below the mouth of the Big Black River, the second commanding bluff, was found, like Vicksburg, to be too strongly fortified for a direct assault; but, profiting by their recent experience, the gun-boats and transports went by them in the night, and made their first successful landing at De Shroon's plantation, facing Bruinsburg, about sixty miles down the river, where the entire army was safely ferried to the east bank within a dry, short, and easy march of the highlands.

Dana tells us in personal letters that he got his first real insight into the aristocracy and hatefulness of slavery on the splendid plantations which lay in the route of the

army on this memorable campaign. At a stately mansion on Roundaway Bayou, surrounded by rich gardens, he and one of the staff-officers, on their way to New Carthage, spent a night, and, in exchange for the protection which their presence insured, received the bountiful hospitality of the proprietress. She had a cook famed far and wide for her Southern dishes, and upon this occasion made such a profuse display of them as caused her to be long and gratefully remembered. It was here that Dana came face to face with slavery, and heard for the first time that the rich planters of the region had taken lordly titles from their extensive estates. It was the innermost recess of slavery, and as the lands were as rich as any in the world, the negro population was denser than he had ever seen it before. He closely scrutinized everything about the place, and became profoundly interested in all he saw. While opulence and comfort surrounded the master and his family, the hard lot of the slaves could not be concealed. It is evident from his conversation, years afterwards, that Dana was deeply touched by what he learned here, and that it did much to confirm his bitter hostility to slavery and his desire to see it entirely abolished by any means the government might find at its disposal.

Although Dana had accompanied Grant and his staff to Smith's plantation, Hard Times, and De Shroon's Landing, and wrote full accounts of the operations up to those points, he was prevented from crossing the river with the first officers and troops, because every possible foot of space on the boats was required for the fighting men and the officers whose duty it was to lead them and to examine and locate the roads by which the advance could be made. All non-combatants, servants, baggage, and extra horses were left behind till the troops were across. It was upon this occasion that General Grant and his staff took only their tooth-brushes, and depended absolutely for sub-

sistence upon what they could carry in their saddle-bags or could find in the country. Some of the subordinate generals were not so considerate, and, indeed, as soon as the leading army corps had made good its position on the uplands, the necessity for a strict observance of the order disappeared, and it became not only convenient but proper for the troops following to bring forward their impedimenta. Dana, although anxious to get to the front, recognized the importance of the order, and employed his time in sending messages to the Secretary of War, in which he did not fail to comment upon the confusion and delay which prevailed in McClernand's corps. He also called attention to the fact that the paymasters, having finished their work and returned to the North without him, it could be plainly seen henceforth by any observant person that he was not attending to their transactions. It should be noted that it was these despatches which brought a most important reply from Stanton, over his personal signature, dated May 5, 1863, saying:

"General Grant has full and absolute authority to enforce his own commands, and to remove any person who, by ignorance, inaction, or any cause, interferes with or delays his operations. He has the full confidence of the government, is expected to enforce his authority, and will be firmly and heartily supported, but he will be responsible for any failure to exert his powers. You may communicate this to him."

While under ordinary circumstances such a communication might be regarded as uncalled for and even unnecessary, it will be remembered that Grant himself had up to that time been more or less in disfavor, that McClernand had been promised the command,[1] and so far as known

[1] See Badeau, *Military History of U. S. Grant*, vol. i., appendix to chap. v., p. 60 *et seq.*—correspondence between Grant and McClernand.

had not been directly informed that the President's plans had been changed. In view of the further fact that McClernand had been acting throughout the campaign with ill-concealed impatience of restraint, if not in disregard of orders, the information sent by Dana to the secretary, and doubtless shown by him directly to the President, was of the greatest importance. There can be no doubt that it was so regarded, or that Stanton's straightforward and emphatic instructions gave to Grant specific authority for the action which he was daily becoming more and more confident he would be compelled to take finally. This authority, it will be observed, was not dated till several days after the battle of Port Gibson, and could not have reached him by steamer and courier from the end of the telegraph at Cairo till about the middle of May. It was, of course, communicated to Grant as soon as received, and it is known that it gave him great satisfaction.

Meanwhile, as soon as a sufficient number of troops had crossed the river to make good their lodgment on the Mississippi uplands, Dana also crossed, but without his horse or baggage, and made his way on foot towards the front, some ten miles away. On the road he overtook General Grant's son Frederick, then a lad of fourteen, who had also been left behind. Hearing the reverberation of cannon, they knew that the action was on, and, although the day was an unusually hot one, exerted themselves to the utmost to rejoin the general and staff. They got a lift from a quartermaster's wagon, and soon found themselves at a field hospital in the rear of the fighting line. Here they got sight of a pile of legs and arms which had just been amputated, and which gave them the first sign either had ever seen of an actual battle. Tarrying here but a few moments, they pushed along till they overtook an officer who had picked up a pair of old gray carriage horses, which he gave to them. They found a couple

of old citizen saddles and poor bridles at a farm-house near by, which enabled them to mount and make their way to headquarters, where they were received with a hearty welcome. They were complimented for their pluck and enterprise, but laughed at for their sorry outfit, which they nevertheless clung to with determination till the fortune of war brought them a better one.

It was on May 2d that Dana reported at headquarters near Port Gibson. As the army had been enabled to cross the Bayou Pierre and push the enemy back towards the Big Black, Grant had resolved to ride into Grand Gulf with an escort and thus shorten his communications with the North. This he did the next day. Dana, Rawlins, and I accompanied him, and it was while we were at Grand Gulf that Grant first made known his determination to cut loose from his base as soon as his trains, now on the way, could join him, and live off the country while moving in the direction of Jackson and against the railroads crossing there. In his despatch, dated May 4th, Dana says:

. . . "General Grant intends to lose no time in pushing his army towards the Big Black Bridge and Jackson, threatening both and striking at either as is most convenient. As soon as Sherman comes up and the rations on the way arrive, he will disregard his base and depend upon the country for meat and even for bread. Beef cattle and corn are both abundant everywhere. . . . General Grant is of the opinion that Pemberton will endeavor to bring on the decisive battle within the next ten days."

At one o'clock of the 4th Grant left for Hankinson's Ferry, but Dana tarried a while longer at Grand Gulf to send off his despatches and letters, and did not rejoin till later in the day. From that time forward he was never absent from the side of General Grant, except while riding

with me from one part of the army to the other. He sent despatches to the Secretary of War whenever he could get them through, which was only occasionally. On May 5th, from Hankinson's Ferry, he reported the position and movements of the various parts of the army, again alluded to the incompetency of McClernand, and indicated that as soon as Sherman's troops arrive the general advance would begin. On the 8th he wrote from Rocky Springs, giving the changes in the station of the troops, and making the statement that Colonel Prime, the chief engineer, had reported the final failure of the shorter road across the peninsula in front of Vicksburg. On the 10th he reported from Rocky Springs that the forward movement was progressing favorably in the general direction of the Jackson & Vicksburg Railroad, that the army would rest that night at ten or twelve miles from the railroad, and that General Grant was advancing his headquarters to Auburn. It took just ten days for this message to reach Washington. During this period he wrote no despatches, because communication by the way of Grand Gulf had become too roundabout and dangerous, and the shorter route by Vicksburg had not yet been opened. The army was getting farther and farther into the interior, and was engaged in making a series of marches and gaining a series of victories which were destined to make Grant's name immortal.

During these busy and exciting days and nights the battle of Raymond was fought, the city of Jackson was captured, the depots of supply, the railroad crossing, and the bridges at that place were destroyed, the railroad to Vicksburg was occupied and broken, the decisive victory at Baker's Creek, or Champion's Hill, was gained, the passage of the Big Black was forced, and the remnant of Pemberton's army was driven into Vicksburg, where it was closely besieged, and finally forced to surrender.

During the whole of this time Dana acted as aide-de-camp, and took part in most of the decisive movements. It was my good-fortune to carry Grant's orders to McClernand and McPherson, who were operating in different quarters, to supervise the destruction of the Confederate bridges and the construction of our own, and Dana was my inseparable companion. We were riding or working night and day, and although the distances to be covered were generally from thirty to forty miles per day, we enjoyed every minute of the time. On the day the battle of Raymond was fought we covered the distance between Auburn and Raymond twice each way, and did not get back to headquarters till nearly midnight.

At Jackson we passed one night in comfortable beds and had a fair supply of Southern food. On asking for our bill the next day, to include General Grant and the entire staff, the manager answered that it would be sixty-five dollars, whereupon I handed him a brand new Confederate treasury note for one hundred dollars. At this, after some hesitation, he said, "Oh, if I take that I shall be compelled to charge you ninety-five dollars." To which I replied, much to the amusement of Grant and Dana, who were looking on, "That's all right—and you needn't mind the change."

This turned out to be a most unfortunate transaction, for an over-ardent Southerner who had witnessed what had taken place promptly reported it to the first Confederates who occupied the city after we withdrew, and they made haste to burn the hotel, because its manager had dared to discriminate in favor of Yankee money as against that of the Confederacy.

Dana often recurred to the incident as the first sure indication he had observed that the Southern people were losing confidence in their cause, and were beginning to fear that the Confederacy itself was doomed to failure.

It was while at Jackson that Dana received and delivered to Grant Stanton's remarkable despatch of May 5th, "giving him full and absolute authority" to enforce his own commands, and to remove any person who by ignorance, inaction, or any other cause, might interfere with or delay his operations, and this sealed the friendship of Dana and Grant till sometime after the latter became President of the United States. It was also at Jackson that Grant learned that Johnston, the Confederate generalissimo in that quarter, had ordered Pemberton to march out from Vicksburg and attack him in the rear. This new but not unexpected condition of affairs necessitated rapid marches and hard-fought battles, in all of which Dana participated. He did his full part as a staff-officer, as well as an observer, marching in the rain, sleeping in churches and farm-houses, and living off of the country. As he traversed the country he noted the condition of the crops, the abundance of food, and the absence of men of military age. It was at Champion's Hill that he got new and more accurate ideas of the Federal generals, and especially of Logan, Hovey, Crocker, McClernand, and McPherson. It was at the passage of the Big Black that he witnessed the splendid charge of Lawler's intrepid brigade, under the personal leadership of that fearless old soldier and of his young and ardent adjutant-general, Captain Bluford Wilson. It was at that river that he assisted all night in the construction of four separate floating bridges, out of cotton bales, gin-houses, pontoons, and railroad-bridge materials, so that the victorious troops might press on at daylight and close in upon the fortifications of Vicksburg without delay. It is not too much to say that he got a better idea of the real merits of our generals, and gained more practical knowledge of actual military operations, in the final ten days of that campaign, than would have been possible in any other period of the

war. His own conduct was admirable from first to last, and he never ceased to regard that as the most exciting ten days he ever passed. He always spoke of it as the most brilliant campaign of Grant's career, and one of the most brilliant known to history.

XIV

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF VICKSBURG

Grant invests Vicksburg—Estimate of McClernand—Adventure in the field—Association with Grant—Parole of the Confederates

GRANT, with his victorious army, sat down before Vicksburg, between fifty and sixty thousand strong, on May 18, 1863. The next day they cut off all communication between the beaten and beleaguered garrison and the surrounding country, occupied all the roads, and re-established connection with the Yazoo and the Mississippi above the city. This restored direct communication between the army and the government by steamboat from the landing at Chickasaw Bayou to Memphis, and thence by telegraph to Washington. It had been broken just ten days, during which time the army was operating without any base whatever. Neither Dana nor any one else had sent despatches, for the double reason that all were too busy and that it was too dangerous for the couriers to traverse the country. But two days after the army had closed in upon Vicksburg, Dana sent his first despatch, through Hurlburt's headquarters at Memphis to the Secretary of War at Washington. It gave a comprehensive account of the battles at Champion's Hill and the Big Black, the bridging and passage of that river, the investment of Vicksburg, and the re-establishment of the army's line of supply and communication with the North, through Chickasaw landing on the Yazoo. On May 23d, he followed this with a graphic account of the failure of the general assault made upon the enemy's works

the day before, commented on the erroneous reports of McClernand and the disastrous results which followed the claim that he had carried and held the enemy's works in his front, explained the improvement in our position, the certainty of our final success, and the condition of the opposing forces. Almost daily thereafter he sent full accounts of the siege operations, the explosion of the mines under the works of the enemy, the movement of the troops, the co-operation of the gun-boats, the precautions against a sortie, the necessity for reinforcements, the condition of the enemy inside and outside of Vicksburg. Indeed, nothing of importance escaped his attention. He was on the alert night and day, and always going from one point of the lines to another. He was a constant companion of Grant and the working staff, and as a consequence there was nothing of which he was ignorant. He was treated by all as a trusted associate, and it was at this time that the secretary bestowed the rank of major upon him with liberty to report to General Grant if needed by him. In the same despatch the secretary, who was far from effusive, assured him officially that everything in the power of the government would be done to aid General Grant, that the emergency was not underrated at Washington, that his despatches were a great obligation and were looked for with deep interest, and that he could not thank him as much as he felt for the service he was then rendering.

In his correspondence with Stanton Dana gave his observations of men and events in a most interesting manner. As before related, Grant was from the beginning of the Vicksburg campaign more or less embarrassed by the conduct of McClernand, his senior corps commander. As that officer owed his assignment to the friendship of the President rather than to any special fitness according to the standards of the professional soldiers, and was from the first a disturbing element in that army, his behavior from

time to time was a matter of special interest to the country and to the administration, and hence Dana's judgment as to the merits and character of that officer is important. He had watched McClernand narrowly, and early came to the conclusion that he had not the qualities necessary for high military command. In short, Dana regarded him merely as a smart man with a quick and active mind but without solid judgment, who had won Mr. Lincoln's support because he was an influential Illinois Democrat with a considerable following among the people of that State. For this reason it was doubtless the President's wish that he should play an important part to the end of the Vicksburg campaign, but his relief shortly after the siege began was made necessary by the issuance of an ill-advised order congratulating the Thirteenth corps in terms which both Sherman and McPherson considered not only unjust to their corps but a breach of army discipline which should not be overlooked. In this connection it must be conceded that Dana's frequent references to McClernand's shortcomings in his correspondence with Stanton had paved the way for the acquiescence of the government in Grant's final action in the case.

I have dwelt upon this episode first because it well illustrates Dana's independence in the performance of a public duty no matter how important the persons concerned might be, and next because McClernand, without reference to his real merits or to his political influence, was the only officer of high rank in that entire army who was not on good terms with Grant, and therefore not acting in cheerful subordination to his commands. It should be added that, notwithstanding his excitable temper and his high ambition, McClernand was not altogether responsible for the trying position in which he found himself during this campaign. Had it not been for the President's personal friendship and official assurances, there is but little reason to doubt that McCler-

nand would have proven himself to be as subordinate as he was brave in carrying out the orders of those in authority over him. While Grant and Dana acted throughout the affair closely within their right and duty, it would be unjust to leave McClernand under the slightest imputation as to his patriotism or his courage. He was one of the first and most important Democrats of Illinois to join Senator Douglas in support of Lincoln and the war for the Union, and never failed to show himself in battle as a leader of the highest courage.

By the first of June, and indeed immediately after the failure of the assault on the intrenchments of Vicksburg, the army settled down to a regular investment and siege. Parallels and approaches were laid out and constructed in front of each corps by the engineers, and troops of the line detailed for that purpose. Mines were driven and exploded under the enemy's works. Mortars were constructed from wooden logs for throwing shells into his lines, and the river above and below the city was watched and carefully patrolled by both the navy and the army. Every possible road and path was closed and watched, and the city was completely isolated. Neither supplies nor reinforcements could reach the garrison, and it was with the greatest difficulty that even the most daring and hardy messenger could get out of it. The enemy's effective strength was estimated at about twenty-five thousand, though counting the noncombatants it approximated thirty thousand men, under the immediate command of Lieutenant-General Pemberton. Johnston, with headquarters at Jackson, was at the same time in chief command of all the Confederate forces in that quarter. He was exerting himself to the utmost to gather an army with which to attack Grant in the rear while the garrison should make a sortie and attack him in front. This imposed double work on the National forces, and as the weather was both hot and dry and the labor incessant,

it became necessary at once to reinforce Grant heavily by drawing troops from every other department that could spare them. No one saw this sooner or more fully appreciated the emergency which had arisen than Dana. Living with Grant and his staff and riding the lines day and night, he learned for himself just what was going on, how constantly the troops were laboring in the trenches or were under arms, how they lived and conducted their operations, what they needed for their comfort or safety, and this included reinforcements as well as current supplies of every kind. Every aspect of the great problem was presented to his mind, and in one despatch or another was laid before the Secretary of War.

It was during this month that he and I had many adventures together. It was our custom to visit the trenches and the advanced works under cover of darkness, and although we made the least possible noise we were frequently fired at by the enemy's pickets. On one occasion of this sort the noise of our horses' feet on the road brought a couple of shots, one of which seriously wounded our orderly, and admonished us that we were never entirely free from danger. Later, after our sap-rollers had been pushed up to the enemy's ditches, a sort of truce was established by common consent between the sentries who were watching one another. On one of our visits we found our sentry, a good-natured Kentuckian, very much embarrassed. It seems that the Johnny opposite, who was close enough to shake hands with him, had asked for a chew of tobacco, and one had been kindly passed over. But it had been sent back enclosed in a note which ran about as follows: "Thank you, Yank! It was very good of you to send the tobacco. We are hard up over here and almost anything will do; but, thank God, we are not hard enough up to use such stuff as that." The Kentuckian, a kind and generous fellow who meant to be neighborly, was evidently

chagrined at the rejection of his offering, and seemed disposed to end the truce, but Dana, who was amused by the incident, suggested that the pleasant relations should be continued and that he would bring a plug of better tobacco at his next visit.

In this way newspapers and trifling presents, with much apparently innocent if not trivial information, passed backward and forward between the belligerents. Dana, as well as the rest of us, was constantly watching for whatever the Confederates might let fall. By these means, and frequently as much by what was not said as by what was said, he came to understand what was going on inside, and some time before the surrender actually took place he became certain that it would be made early in July if Johnston failed to raise the siege.

Upon another occasion, as Dana and I were returning from a swim in the Yazoo, we were set upon by a small band of marauders who threatened to maltreat us. While I compelled them to halt and held them at bay, Dana rode to the camp and brought a detachment of the provost-guard which arrested and took them in for trial. Never a day passed without our riding the lines, visiting the hospitals, or going to our base of supplies at the Landing. In this way Dana became familiar with every detail of army administration as well as with the actual military operations. He knew from personal observation every foot of the country between the Yazoo and the Mississippi on one side and the Big Black on the other, as well as every road and path which traversed it. This is well shown by a memorable ride which he took with General Grant into the Yazoo bottom around the right wing of Sherman's corps. Having gone to the steamboat landing with the general and several staff-officers, one of them suggested that the party would save considerable distance if it should return to camp by following down the river-bank and then cutting across the angle to the high-

lands behind the city. Dana was somewhat doubtful of the plan, and asked several questions about bayous and swamps, but the majority prevailed and all went favorably so long as the route lay on the river-bank. The party trotted along merrily enough till it turned towards the camp. The new route lay through a dense forest, with thick patches of underbrush obstructed here and there by fallen logs, but it was easy to follow it by compass to a bayou which lay across it but looked impassable. It was ten or twelve feet deep and fifty or sixty feet wide, and although nearly all the water had run out of it its slopes and bed constituted a black and forbidding quagmire. It seemed impossible to go on, but as it was eight or ten miles to camp by the way the party had come, and only two or three miles across, one of the officers pushed to the front, dismounted the orderlies, and began the construction of a corduroy road over the mud to the hard ground beyond the creek. Dana at once grasped the situation and helped with all his strength to gather up and drag the drift-wood to the officer who was placing it in position. The work was soon completed, and while it was simple enough to experienced soldiers it was a revelation to city men. Within a half-hour the party was safely in camp, but Dana never ceased to speak of the incident as one of the most interesting connected with the siege.

A few days later, the army having settled down to a dead calm of hard work, marked by a cessation of actual fighting, Grant started on a trip by boat to an outlying detachment supposed to be intrenched at Satartia, some fifty or sixty miles above the mouth of the Yazoo. He took Dana and two young aides-de-camp with him, but had not gone far before he fell sick and was compelled to go to bed and give up the trip. Dana therefore took charge, turned the boat about, and brought the party back to camp, where it arrived after dark the next day. The actual facts of this

episode are given in great detail by S. Cadwallader, in an unpublished volume, accounting his experience as the correspondent of the New York *Herald* at Grant's headquarters.[1] But when it is remembered that it became the occasion of a very remarkable letter of remonstrance from Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Rawlins on June 6, 1863, to General Grant, the character and possible consequences of the incident will be better understood. Without repeating details, the subject may be dismissed with the statement that it completed Dana's knowledge of Grant's character and habits from actual observation in a way which no man could gainsay. It is a curious circumstance that neither Grant nor Dana ever made to the other the slightest reference to the peculiar features of the excursion, nor, so far as the records show, did Dana report them to Stanton. On the other hand, nothing can be more certain than that every circumstance connected with it became known at once to the leading officers of Grant's army.

Of course Dana was privy to and heartily approved Rawlins's manly and patriotic letter as the most effective means of accomplishing the end it had in view. The letter was received in the spirit which dictated it, and for the time neutralized the danger against which it was directed. One cannot help reflecting that the consequences of this episode might have been far different had Dana been a narrow-minded and unreasonable bigot, or had he not been prepared by the frank and open confidence that had been reposed in him for just such incidents as the one in which he had found himself compelled to play an important part.

From Dana's despatches it is apparent that he clearly understood the entire situation, not only in Mississippi but in Tennessee as well. At that time Rosecrans, who com-

[1] *Four Years at Grant's Headquarters*, by S. Cadwallader (unpublished).

manded in the last-mentioned State, was confronted by Bragg with an inferior force, but was slow to move and was also calling for reinforcements. The crisis was an important one and obviously called for a great concentration of the National forces to insure victory on both lines. So profoundly was Dana convinced that everything should be done to "obviate the possible necessity of raising the siege of Vicksburg," that at Grant's urgent request he started in person to Banks, then besieging Port Hudson, a hundred or so miles farther down the great river, for the purpose of urging him to send the greater part of his forces to Grant's assistance. In pursuance of this object he had got as far as Grand Gulf when he met a previous messenger returning with Banks's positive decision that he could not detach any part of his force even to make Grant's success a certainty. This made it absolutely necessary to bring reinforcements in large numbers from the North, and Dana represented this so frequently and so strongly to the Secretary of War that in the end nothing essential was left undone.

In the earlier stages of the campaign it had been urged by Sherman, and possibly by others, that the armies of the Tennessee and the Cumberland should be united on the Tennessee, and that the latter could be transported within a week by the ample fleet of steamboats under Grant's control to such point on that river as would render the junction certain and insure a great victory for the National arms; but while Dana admitted this, he thought Grant's situation was such that it would be fatal to his reputation to relinquish even temporarily his campaign against Vicksburg. After the brilliant operations which had scattered Johnston's forces and placed Grant's army in the rear of the stronghold, which was his principal objective, Dana properly took the view that withdrawal under the circumstances was inadmissible, if not impossible, unless

Grant's rear should be actually attacked by an overwhelming force. Such as are familiar with this phase of the great conflict will remember that Grant, on his way to Vicksburg early in the year, had clearly foreseen the necessity for the consolidation of the various departments in the Mississippi Valley under one supreme commander, and had written a formal letter to the Secretary of War recommending that measure as the best means of securing the necessary co-operation between the great armies already in the field. Like many other important measures, this one was compelled to wait. Meanwhile it was fully discussed with Dana, and he gave it his adherence and support, but not till Grant had received the surrender of Vicksburg and its garrison, and Rosecrans had been defeated by an overwhelming concentration of the Confederate forces at Chickamauga, was that all-important recommendation carried into effect. Dana from the first took the ground that Grant could not be withdrawn from his advanced position, and that it would be far better for Rosecrans to retreat to Nashville than for Grant to retreat from the hills of Vicksburg. The government at Washington, however, instead of heeding Dana's timely and far-sighted suggestion, yielded to the fatuous determination of Halleck, backed as it was by popular clamor, and forced its reluctant commander to push his widely separated columns into northern Georgia, where, as might have been expected, they were destined to meet disaster.

Of course it was always possible, as pointed out in Dana's despatch of June 12th, for Bragg to send his material to Atlanta, fall back upon Bristol and Chattanooga, and detach the larger part of his army to reinforce Johnston. Fortunately this was not done, and Johnston was left with such insufficient means as he could gather up and put in the field to continue his hopeless campaign against Grant. He was active and enterprising, but the odds were against him.

His operations were desultory and lacking in that concentration and weight necessary for success. His antagonist had an interior position from which he could easily strike or frustrate the operations of any ordinary force coming against him, whether it was directed from the west against the colored troops at Milliken's Bend, or from the east against the detachments covering his own rear.

Dana had early taken ground in favor of utilizing the so-called contrabands in such army work as they could properly do, and when the adjutant-general joined Grant's army for the purpose of organizing negro regiments, gave him every assistance in his power. The army itself was indifferent, if not incredulous, as to the benefit to be derived therefrom, but when the Confederate attack on the camp of organization and instruction at Milliken's Bend received a bloody repulse at the hands of the half-drilled negroes, Dana expressed himself as "happy to report" that the sentiment of the army had been revolutionized by the bravery of the blacks, and that prominent officers who used to sneer at the idea were now heartily in favor of it.

As the month of June wore to its conclusion it became more and more evident that the surrender of Vicksburg was near at hand. Despatches to and from the garrison were being captured with greater and greater frequency. Deserters were coming out and giving themselves up nightly. Spies, discouraged planters, paroled Confederate officers, and even an ex-United States senator were contributing to the sum of our information. Some of this was voluntary, but much of it was unwittingly given, although it all went to the confirmation of the inferences which had been drawn earlier in the siege from the friendly conferences between the besieged and those who were drawing the toils about them. As early as June 14th Dana came to the conclusion that the surrender was certain to take place at no distant day. In expectation of that event he anticipated that his

next orders would be to go to Rosecrans, or possibly elsewhere, but whatever they might be he naturally expressed a desire to go home first for a short time.

A few days later he reported in detail that General Grant had relieved General McClernand from the command of the Thirteenth army corps and sent him to Illinois to await further orders from the government, gave a full account of the new arrangements made necessary by the change, and set forth a multitude of circumstances connected with the progress of the siege, the operations of Johnston, Taylor, and Kirby Smith, and the conditions prevailing in the country occupied by their forces. In all this correspondence not a despondent thought was expressed, not an uncertain note was sounded. While Dana was the trusted representative of the War Department, he was sparing of his comments and suggestions, and yet when necessary he did not hesitate to criticise the highest officers, whether they were regulars or volunteers. His position required the greatest discretion in speech and consummate tact in his relations with the officers about him. Although he was a commissioner of the War Department, whose duty it was to report upon all, he put on no airs and assumed no responsibilities beyond the strict letter of his instructions. What to report and what not to report was a question constantly before him; and while it was not to be expected that in an army of volunteers drawn from every walk of life there should not be some who were suspicious and many who were envious, it is evident that Dana gave but little ground for either class to take offence at his personal or official conduct while connected with the Army of the Tennessee.

As his correspondence shows, Dana was in every way the eyes of the government from the first to the closing day of the Vicksburg campaign. He participated in the councils of the commander-in-chief as well as in most of the operations of the troops. As the official representa-

tive of the Secretary of War he was privy to every step taken in the negotiations for the surrender, and finally rode with the victorious general when he took possession of the captured city. If he did not personally favor paroling the surrendered army, as was promptly done, he fully and frankly made known to the War Department the considerations which finally caused Grant to adopt that unfortunate course. It is now generally conceded that the captured army should have been sent North and divided up between the various prison encampments so as to destroy its organization and make it impossible for it to take further part in the war till it was duly exchanged. But after full consideration Grant came to the conclusion that it would take too large a force to guard the prisoners, and too long a time to transport them to the North, and hence they were permitted to march back into the Confederacy in the original regiments, brigades, and divisions to which they belonged. While it is true that they were furloughed to their homes for a few weeks, it was but a short time till the Confederate government repudiated the terms of surrender and recalled the entire army, except such of the men as permanently deserted, to continue the war against the Union.

Not the least interesting part of Dana's correspondence for this memorable summer is found in the sketches of the various officers with whom Dana became acquainted during the great campaign. As has been shown, he had had an ample opportunity not only to meet them, but to study their peculiarities as exhibited in their daily work. These sketches were hot from the field, and the only ones of the sort known to have been sent to the Secretary of War during the entire war. They were doubtless submitted to the President, and from the intimacy that grew up thereafter between him and the writer, it is safe to infer that they were received at their full value.

XV

GENERALS AND STAFF, ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE

Grant, Sherman, McPherson, Blair, Steele, and Rawlins—Stanton and Sherman at the great review—Personal letters to Stanton

From the frequency and particularity with which Dana mentioned the conduct and character of McClernand in his correspondence, even after he had been warned by the secretary to refrain from personal comment and advice, it is evident that he regarded that general and his relations with the President as a most important factor in the solution of the great problem presented in the Mississippi Valley. As heretofore stated, there can be no doubt that it had been the President's purpose to intrust McClernand with the command of the forces for the capture of Vicksburg, and there is equally no doubt that this led to embarrassments and complications which, so far as they concerned General Grant, ended only with the order relieving McClernand from duty in that army. While this order was not issued till Grant's victories had made him so strong that there could be no question as between him and any of his subordinates, nothing can be more certain than that Dana did a great service to Grant and the country in preparing the administration for this measure when it finally came to be adopted. It is a curious fact, however, that Dana nowhere gives a full or a consecutive estimate of that officer's character, services, and merits. He throws important light upon them, but without describing them fully makes it clear that discipline and harmony required his removal

from command, and thus became an important if not a controlling influence in bringing about that result.

As to Dana's estimate of Grant as a military man, it must be said that long after the political controversies which ended the friendship between them, Dana, without the slightest show of feeling, gives the following brief but just and comprehensive portrait of the great soldier:

"Living at headquarters as I did throughout the siege of Vicksburg, I soon became intimate with General Grant, not only knowing every operation while it was still but an idea, but studying its execution on the spot. Grant was an uncommon fellow—the most modest, the most disinterested, and the most honest man I ever knew, with a temper that nothing could disturb, and a judgment that was judicial in its comprehensiveness and wisdom. Not a great man, except morally; not an original or brilliant man, but sincere, thoughtful, deep, and gifted with courage that never faltered; when the time came to risk all, he went in like a simple-hearted, unaffected, unpretending hero, whom no ill omens could deject, and no triumph unduly exalt. A social, friendly man, too, fond of a pleasant joke, and also ready with one; but liking above all a long chat of an evening, and ready to sit up with you all night talking in the cool breeze in front of his tent. Not a man of sentimentality, not demonstrative in friendship, but always holding to his friends, and just even to the enemies he hated."

It is to be observed that, so far as known, the foregoing sketch, first published in *McClure's Magazine* and afterwards in the *Recollections* (D. Appleton & Co.), contains the last word ever penned or uttered by Dana in regard to the great soldier with whom he had been so intimate, and who had then been dead so many years. And here it is proper to add that notwithstanding the unsparing criticism which Dana directed against Grant and his policies of administration during his two terms as president, he never varied from this esti-

mate of Grant's character as a soldier. Nowhere and at no time did he criticise his campaigns and battles, or condemn his methods of command and military administration. Looking back over the history of the war, he of course saw incidents and occasions in which changes might have produced better results, but none in which he impugned the good judgment, the good faith, or the high patriotism of the general. While he had collaborated with me in a *Life of Grant*, designed mainly to promote his election to the presidency, and had freely used the *Sun*'s columns for his defence from unjust military criticism, it is a part of the history of the times that he came ultimately to regard him as peculiarly lacking in the qualities necessary for the proper administration of the national government. As will be shown hereafter, he criticised and condemned many of his measures and policies with the most perfect freedom, but stood always for the great merit and virtue of his military career.

Returning to the staff-officers and generals whom Dana first met and became intimate with during the Vicksburg campaign, at the risk of repetition I quote from the original letters in my possession, sent from Cairo (July 12 and 13, 1863) to Stanton, as follows:

"Lieutenant-Colonel Rawlins, Grant's assistant adjutant-general, is a very industrious, conscientious man, who never loses a moment, and never gives himself any indulgence except swearing and scolding. He is a lawyer by profession, a townsman of Grant's, and has a great influence over him, especially because he watches him day and night, and whenever he commits the folly of tasting liquor hastens to remind him that at the beginning of the war he gave him [Rawlins] his word of honor not to touch a drop as long as it lasted. Grant thinks Rawlins a first-rate adjutant, but I think this is a mistake. He is too slow, and can't write the English language correctly without a great deal of careful consideration." . . .

While the foregoing quotation gives an excellent summary of Rawlins's character and of his relations with Grant, whom he served with singular distinction and ability, not only as adjutant but as chief of staff and Secretary of War, it may be well to call attention to the fact that Dana perhaps undervalued him in the strictly clerical office of adjutant. It is true that Rawlins was without any technical training when he began his military career, and wrote always a crabbed hand, but it cannot be denied that with his legal training, his incessant attention to duty, and his careful study of the regulations and standing orders of the War Department, he became in every respect a most competent and trustworthy assistant within the strictest limits of his duty. He doubtless remained to the close of his career lacking in the precise knowledge of battle tactics and formations, but no man on either side of the great conflict came in the end to understand the general principles of the military art better than Rawlins did, nor can any one read his letters and political speeches, or the military reports which were edited by him, without coming to the conclusion that, whatever may have been the deficiencies of his earlier education, he was master of a terse, clear, and vigorous style, admirably adapted to the requirements of his various positions. It is believed that had Dana's attention been directed specially to Rawlins's merits in this direction, he would have promptly conceded all that is here claimed for him. I had many conversations throughout life with Dana about Rawlins, and know that I am doing neither injustice when I assert that Dana regarded Rawlins as one of the ablest as well as "one of the most upright and genuine characters" he "ever came across," and that he was fully within the truth when he said that without him "Grant would not have been the same man." The simple fact is that the great character which has passed into history under the name of Grant was compounded of both Grant and Rawlins

in nearly equal parts. While one has become a national hero whose fame will never die, the other unnecessarily effaced himself, and is now scarcely known beyond the acquaintance of his surviving comrades or the limits of the community from which both took up arms for the cause of the Union.

But to return to the staff-officers and generals whom Dana described in his letters to Stanton.

The next officer mentioned was Major Theodore S. Bowers, who became Rawlins's principal assistant early in the war and remained with him to the day of his unfortunate death in a railroad accident at Garrisons, near West Point. He was a man in every way after Rawlins's own heart. By profession a printer and the editor of a country newspaper, he entered the army from southern Illinois as a private soldier, and was detailed for duty as a clerk at Grant's headquarters. By his unselfish devotion to duty, no less than by his personal gallantry at the capture of Fort Donelson, he rose steadily from one position to another as vacancies occurred or as Rawlins himself was promoted. He was one of the most modest, unselfish, and devoted officers that ever served in the Union army. Mr. Dana says of him in the Cairo letter:

> . . . "Major Bowers, judge-advocate of Grant's staff, is an excellent man, and always finds work to do."

The next men mentioned with approval and commendation were Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham, chief quartermaster, and Lieutenant-Colonel Macfeeley, chief commissary, both of the regular army and both officers of the highest merit. This was attested by the fact that no army was ever better transported, equipped, and subsisted than Grant's Army of the Tennessee. Each of these officers became head of his department, and throughout a long and useful life sustained the high character Dana had given him.

Several other officers of Grant's Western staff were described with less commendation, as will be seen by reference to the *Recollections*, where full names, for obvious reasons, were omitted.

Of William T. Sherman, Dana always wrote in terms of commendation. He first met him shortly after his arrival at Milliken's Bend, and in the letter to his friend Huntington, already quoted, it will be recalled that he speaks of him especially as "a man of genius and of the widest intellectual acquisitions." It is but natural that he should have been from the first favorably impressed by the sparkling conversation, the great intelligence, and the extensive knowledge of military and political history displayed by that officer on every suitable occasion.

Later, in an account of the differences between Sherman and Stanton growing out of the terms of surrender granted to Joseph E. Johnston's army in North Carolina, Dana, by a few vigorous touches, strongly accentuates Sherman's peculiarities. After stating that the secretary was deeply indignant with the general for meddling with matters beyond his jurisdiction, he adds:

. . . "No doubt his indignation was intensified by his dislike of Sherman. The two men were antagonistic by nature. Sherman was an effervescent, mercurial, expansive man, springing abruptly to an idea, expressing himself enthusiastically on every subject, and often without reflection. Stanton could not accommodate himself to this temperament."[1] . . .

Before leaving this subject it may be well to say that no reconciliation ever took place between these historical characters. General Grant made an effort, at the great review which was held in Washington after the close of the

[1] Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War* (D. Appleton & Co.), p. 289.

war, to bring them together. It was stated by the press, and afterwards in Sherman's *Memoirs*, that when Sherman passed by Stanton to take his place on the reviewing stand, the latter proffered his hand and the former refused it. This statement is confirmed by Colonel du Pont, who was on the reviewing stand, and perhaps by others, but Dana always contended in conversation with me that Sherman was "entirely mistaken." That "the secretary made no motion to offer his hand or to exchange salutations, but as the general passed merely gave him a slight inclination of the head equivalent to a quarter of a bow."

A more dramatic account of this incident is given in the life of Stanton,[1] in which it is alleged that Sherman "shook hands with all until he came to Stanton, when he turned away." This, it is said, brought a call for Stanton which was followed by cheers and a recognition he would not otherwise have received. It is further said that afterwards, while a military commission of which Sherman was a member was in session at the War Department, Stanton invited Sherman into his private room, where they had an official conversation, but there is not the slightest evidence that they were ever again on friendly terms. Stanton, it will be remembered, did not long survive the war, and Sherman's sense of injury was too acute to be followed shortly by forgiveness. They were, indeed, naturally antagonistic, and now that the war was over and Stanton soon to return to civil life, there was no special reason why they should be friends.

Dana always regarded McPherson as an officer of first-class ability, not so brilliant as Sherman, but in every way a capable and loyal subordinate, who understood his profession down to the minutest details. He was for some

[1] *Edwin McMasters Stanton*, etc., pp. 288, 289. By Frank A. Flower, Akron, Ohio. The Saalfield Publishing Company, New York, Chicago, 1905.

time looked upon by many as the man most likely to have furnished brilliant ideas and plans to Grant, but Dana was not long in learning that whatever may have been his merits he was content to volunteer no opinions and give no advice unless it was asked for. He was, indeed, a man of rare modesty, undaunted courage, and absolute loyalty, and had he not been killed in battle, at the head of an army, must have risen to still higher honors.

What Dana may have said in conversation with the President and the Secretary of War in regard to Grant, Sherman, and McPherson can never be exactly known, but that he held them in the highest esteem cannot be doubted. Throughout the long years of our acquaintance, in which we had many conversations in regard to them, he never failed to speak of them and their military services in the highest terms of praise and admiration. Nor can there be any doubt that he did all in his power to strengthen them in Washington, or that he regarded them as true heroes who would serve their country in every emergency with the most unselfish devotion. Moreover, he always looked upon his services near them with unalloyed satisfaction, and never failed to congratulate himself upon the good-fortune that had brought him into such close and cordial relations with them. He was far from being an emotional man, but he made no effort to conceal the feelings of affection and respect with which he looked upon these splendid soldiers, as exemplifying the best product of our national military school and the best training of the regular army.

Dana's official correspondence shows nothing more than a mere mention of General Ord, who, it will be remembered, succeeded McClernand in the command of the Thirteenth army corps, but I personally know that he held that singularly modest and most excellent officer in the highest esteem. Ord belonged to the artillery of the regular army, and served as a corps and army commander till the end of

the war with great usefulness and distinction, though it so happened that Dana met him but seldom either in the Vicksburg or Richmond campaign, and had no opportunity to become intimate with him. The simple fact that all complaint in reference to the Thirteenth corps ceased after it passed under Ord's control is conclusive evidence that the change which Dana had urged so persistently was necessary, and that the new commander was a judicious and fortunate selection.

Dana's two remarkable letters from Cairo to Stanton have been published in full in his *Recollections*, and hence they are omitted from this narrative. They constitute a series of contemporaneous sketches of unusual interest and accuracy, and so far as I can learn they are the only ones of the kind ever sent to the Secretary of War. That the secretary regarded them as private and confidential is shown by the fact that they were not placed on the files of the War Department, but were finally returned to the writer, where they remained till they were placed in my possession. They are in Dana's well-known hand, and are singularly free from erasures or changes. Having known personally and officially every officer mentioned, I confidently assert that in no case did Dana do injustice or give a false or exaggerated impression. What he says about Grant, Sherman, McPherson, Hovey, Osterhaus, A. J. Smith, William Sooy Smith, John E. Smith, Giles A. Smith, Logan, Lawler, Blair, Steele, Woods, C. C. Washburn, Stevenson, Leggett, McArthur, Crocker, Ransom, and Quimby is a model of perspicuity as well as of fair and judicious portraiture. In every instance, except where death overtook the officer, as in the cases of McPherson, Crocker, and Ransom, Dana's prediction of future usefulness and distinction was fully realized. It is remarkable that in no single instance was he mistaken, and still more remarkable that in no single instance where doubt was cast upon the officer's character

or usefulness did his future service show that serious injustice had been done him.

There is of course no way of ascertaining what use Stanton made of the information contained in these letters, but he probably kept them close at hand for reference as long as necessary, and thereafter made but few mistakes in regard to the officers to whom they referred. Looking back upon the period of the great war, with its widely scattered armies and hundreds of thousands of soldiers, commanded mostly by generals of but little military experience drawn from every walk of life, I cannot suppress the thought that the country would have been greatly benefited had the secretary directed Dana to visit every department and army and send him a sketch of every important officer connected with them. It could not have failed to place in his hands fresh and exact information of a kind in which the records were singularly deficient. It can scarcely be believed, but it is the truth, that there was no regular system in use by which the habits, character, and efficiency of even the highest officers were regularly made known to the general-in-chief or to the Secretary of War. Everything in relation thereto was hap-hazard and largely a matter of chance, or, what was worse, was left to the newspapers, or to the partiality of personal and political friends. Even Dana, who was constantly with the army till the end of the war, when any great campaign was on refrained from sending in such sketches as those from Cairo, and confined himself thenceforth mainly to reporting operations and important events. That this course was marked out for him by his official superior there can be but little doubt.

XVI

DANA RETURNS TO WASHINGTON

Duty in War Department—Letters to Colonel Wilson—Joins Rosecrans—Campaign and battle of Chickamauga—Despatches and letters from Chattanooga—Grant ordered to Chattanooga—Meets Stanton at Louisville

Dana was the first man from Vicksburg to reach Washington, and although he was anxious to rejoin his family for a few days' rest, and was besought by his friends, George Opdyke, the merchant, and Mr. Ketchum, the banker, to go into business, at the earnest solicitation of Stanton he concluded to remain in the service of the War Department. He had been appointed assistant secretary during the Vicksburg campaign, but probably for the reason that Congress had not yet authorized a second assistant his name was not sent to the Senate for confirmation to that office till January 20, 1864. It should, however, be noted that it was acted on almost immediately.

It will be remembered that the double victory of Vicksburg and Gettysburg marked the culmination of the great Rebellion, and that the country was correspondingly elated and exultant. Dana, with full particulars of the wonderful campaign and siege, in which he had taken such a creditable part, was made everywhere welcome, and by everybody urged to tell the exciting story of Grant and his army. Inasmuch as they had been completely successful, and had defeated in detail and had scattered, killed, or captured almost the entire force, estimated at sixty thousand men, arrayed against them, the story of their deeds could not be

repeated too often. The President, the Secretary of War, the general-in-chief, the cabinet, and both Houses of Congress wanted to hear it, and their interest in it was heightened by the fact that although Gettysburg was justly regarded as a great victory it was marred by the escape of the Confederate army across the Potomac into Virginia.

Notwithstanding the necessity of repeating his story and of attending to such other business as pressed upon him, Dana found time to write to me in his own hand from the War Department, July 21, 1863. As this letter has never been published elsewhere, I give it in part as follows:

. . . "I got here very safely, and find everybody in distress because Meade failed to capture Lee. There can be no question that a vigorous attack, seasonably made, must have resulted in the surrender of his entire army. Meade was anxious to make it, but his four principal corps commanders, Sykes, Sedgwick, Slocum, and French, all his seniors in rank, were so determinedly opposed to it, while the only one who strongly urged it, Wadsworth, was only a temporary corps commander and a volunteer to boot, that he yielded and let the critical opportunity go by. The President wrote him a letter recommending such an attack, but it came too late, by some accident. The facts since discovered show that there was no possibility of our failure. . . .

. . . "There is no talk of removing General Meade or putting General Grant in command of the Army of the Potomac. . . .

. . . "I am going home to Connecticut for a fortnight. Then the secretary desires me to come back here for some duty not yet explained to me. But I am sure I shall not for a long time have anything to do or any association as agreeable and instructive as during my three months with the Army of the Tennessee.

"I had almost forgotten to say that the New York riots are over and cannot be repeated. Governor Seymour and the leaders of the Copperhead Democracy were mostly at

the bottom of the whole dreadful business. Seymour has had the idea of resisting the draft by the forces of the State, but is too great a coward to attempt the execution of the scheme with the large Federal force now concentrated in the city." . . .

The foregoing letter is particularly noticeable because it shows that Dana at least had been considering even at that early day the chance of Grant's being ordered to the command of the Army of the Potomac. Before starting East he had discussed the suggestion with Rawlins and others as a possible consequence of Grant's great victories in the West; but the time had not yet come, though the idea was born. The disgrace of Chickamauga had yet to be incurred and wiped out, and the defeat of Bragg's army at Missionary Ridge had yet to be accomplished before the country and its government could recognize Grant's great merits and call him to the head of our armies. As this narrative proceeds it will become apparent that Dana was destined to play an important part in the accomplishment of that great end.

After a fortnight with his family on the Connecticut coast, where he greatly enjoyed the rest and recreation he had so well earned, he returned to Washington for further service. He wrote to me from the War Department, August 11, 1863. Omitting purely personal matters, I quote as follows:

. . . "You speak with regret of Sherman's retreat from Pearl River. I had the same feeling at first, but on reflection have come to doubt the possibility of pursuing Johnston to the Tombigbee with adequate results, owing to the want of water in the country and the exposure of the line of supplies to being cut by the enemy. The vital place of attack is Mobile, in my judgment, and when you once have that post in your possession you can make the Tombigbee, the Alabama, and all the country about them untenable by the

Confederacy. With Mobile to start from, and gun-boats on the river co-operating with your armies, the war may be ended in Mississippi and Alabama together, and the enemy crowded backward into Georgia.

"As for the draft in the city of New York, the order was given yesterday to execute it this week. The delay has been caused only by the difficulty in concentrating there the necessary body of troops at the same time that reinforcements in considerable numbers had to go forward to Charleston. From that place there is no news that is not published, and you can doubtless judge a great deal better than I can as to the probability of Gilmore's taking it before the usual storms compel the withdrawal of the fleet. Be sure that at any rate he will not fail for lack of either men or material. My own impression, however, is that he will soon lose the co-operation of the iron-clads; meanwhile, however, he is intrenching himself with a view to that contingency, so as to be able to carry on the siege alone.

"I got here yesterday to begin my duties as assistant secretary of war, but have not yet fairly set to work. I dare say, however, that I shall find no lack of employment. I feel some dread of work in an office, and would much prefer the life on horseback and in the field which I enjoyed with you in Mississippi.

"Of the Army of the Potomac I can tell you no news that is worth telling. What you see in the newspapers is, of course, mainly fictitious or distorted.

"General Grant has made some recommendations for promotions to major-generalships, and so has General Meade. The difficulty in both cases is that the law limits the number of major-generals and that the list is now complete. Perhaps you have already learned that both General Sherman and General McPherson have been appointed brigadiers in the regular army.

"Prime is at the home of his family on Long Island. Still very feeble.

"I am sorry not to have been here when Colonel Rawlins was here the other day. At that time, however, I was at

Westport, sailing and swimming in Long Island Sound. The most enthusiastic imagination cannot exaggerate the delight of a few days spent in such recreations, nor the contrast with the infernal heat of this city.

"Pray let me hear from you as soon as you can, and keep me informed as to movements and improvements in the Army of the Tennessee. General Thayer was here yesterday seeking correction in the date of his commission — in vain.

"Remember me cordially to Rawlins and Bowers. Also to the general, who is, I trust, enduring with health and philosophy the climate of Vicksburg."

Dana spent the remainder of that month in the performance of various duties connected with the administration and maintenance of the army, and especially with the supply departments and contractors whose place it was to furnish what was required. With his wide acquaintance and his vigorous methods he found ready and constant occupation, by which he relieved the secretary of many harassing details.

It will be recalled that he had come to the conclusion, notwithstanding the high character and marked abilities of Colonel Rawlins, that he could not be regarded as technically a good adjutant-general. This view, he found, was also held by the leading officers of that bureau. They seemed to forget with him that the paper work of Grant's army, with its many detachments and the great extent of territory covered by their operations during the last six months, must necessarily be less perfect than that of the armies closer to Washington. But knowing, besides, that Grant had recommended and would probably secure the promotion for Rawlins which would make a vacancy that should be filled by the best available man, he wrote to General Grant, suggesting Major Samuel Breck, one of the most accomplished officers of the regular army, for that

place. This explains the following "private" letter to me, dated August 31, 1863:

. . . "I have written a note to the general suggesting Major Sam Breck as just the man he needs for assistant adjutant-general, in case he is about to take a new one. Breck is now at the head of one of the departments of the adjutant-general's office here, but, as I have accidentally learned, would much rather serve in the field. I don't suppose any other department commander could get him, but General Grant is pretty omnipotent just now. Breck is a first-rate man in his sphere, and a cultivated, gentlemanly, efficient fellow. If no one is wanted, or if the place is filled, all right.

"I have written Rawlins a note to warn him of a storm brewing against him. The complaint is one I mentioned to you the other day; and I suppose if the difficulty is not remedied some sharp corrective will be applied. Between ourselves, the truth is that the adjutant's department in the Department of the Tennessee has never been well administered.

"Much to my surprise I find that Judge Scates [1] keeps the accounts of his office with the adjutant-general here in excellent order—not quite so perfect, indeed, as those of the Army of the Potomac, with its unequalled adjutant,[2] but yet altogether satisfactory.

"A charge against the 'High Dominie Dudgeon' was squelched the other day. . . . I hastened to say that Michael was a splendid old fighter, with only two grains of discretion, and this must be a blunder and nothing worse. Anyway it's laid to sleep.[3]

"I am off for Burnside this P.M., and then to Rosecrans."

As soon as it became certain that Rosecrans, in obedience to the official pressure which had been put upon him, was

[1] Adjutant-general of the Thirteenth corps, a distinguished lawyer and ex-judge of Illinois.

[2] General Seth Williams, of the regular army.

[3] This refers to General M. K. Lawler, than whom there never was a more honest or capable soldier in the volunteer army.

actually moving against Bragg, the secretary decided to send Dana to report the operations of the Army of the Cumberland, as he had reported those of the Army of the Tennessee. Burnside had been sent to repossess east Tennessee, and it was expected that he and Rosecrans would form a junction and continue their operations together. The secretary's instructions required that Dana should join Burnside first, but not finding that feasible he proceeded to join Rosecrans. Chattanooga was now the great objective of the Union forces in that theatre of operations. He bore a letter of introduction to Rosecrans, dated August 30th, in which the secretary designated him as "one of my assistants, who visits your command for the purpose of conferring with you upon any subject which you may desire to have brought to the notice of the department." He commended Dana as a gentleman of distinguished character, patriotism, and ability, possessing the entire confidence of the government and worthy of every courtesy and consideration.[1] Although much delayed, he reached Louisville on September 5th, and Nashville a day or two later. Here he joined Andrew Johnson and General Gordon Granger, whom he met for the first time, and arranged to go to the front with them, which he did a few days later. As Bridgeport on the Tennessee was at that time the end of that section of the railroad by which the army south of the Tennessee was supplied, Dana was compelled to continue his journey on horseback. His route lay through Shellmound, Wauhatchie, and the Lookout Valley, with mountains and magnificent scenery on either hand. Chattanooga had been occupied by Crittenden's corps on September 9th. Rosecrans reached there on the 10th and Dana on the evening of the 11th. He at once reported at headquarters, but Rosecrans, whose head had probably been

[1] Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*, p. 104.

turned by the success of his preliminary strategy, instead of receiving his visitor courteously burst at once into abuse of the government, declaring that it had not properly sustained him, that his requests had been ignored and his plans thwarted, and that both Stanton and Halleck had done all they could to prevent his success. This outbreak was of course unexpected, but Dana, who always had control of his own temper, replied that he had no authority to listen to such complaints, that his mission was to find out what the government could do to aid him, and that he had no right to confer on other matters.[1]

This retort produced a quieting effect, and was followed presently by a rational explanation of the condition of the campaign, the movements and position of the contending forces, and of the hopes and plans of the National commander. The Confederate authorities had concealed their real plans with skill. They had sent Longstreet with a formidable corps of veteran infantry from Virginia to reinforce Bragg,[2] and had gathered from Alabama and Mississippi all the detachments and garrisons they could replace by calling back to the colors the men Pemberton had surrendered and Grant had paroled at Vicksburg. No word of this had yet reached Rosecrans. He was unconscious of the storm about to burst upon him. His own army was moving by divergent roads on a front of forty miles or more southeastwardly through the mountains of northwestern Georgia, but with the instinct of a real strategist he foresaw that his columns could not properly support each other in case of a concentration of the enemy against either of them. He saw also that such a concentration was possible, and that the only way to counteract it successfully was to con-

[1] Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*, p. 106 *et seq.*

[2] The earliest notice of this movement received by the government was from General Meade, September 14, 1863. See *Official Records*, Serial No. 50, p. 35.

centrate his own army in such way as to cover both the route back to Bridgeport and that to Chattanooga. Accordingly Rosecrans and his staff, on September 13th, sallied out from Chattanooga for the purpose of joining Thomas's corps at Stevens's Gap. Dana found the army in "the best possible condition." Its left flank was secured by Burnside's occupation of east Tennessee, but the broken and difficult country in which it was operating filled Dana with the fear that if the enemy should move strongly against Rosecrans's right wing it might endanger his long and precarious line of communications and force him to retreat beyond the Tennessee. To meet this danger Dana made haste, September 14th, to bring it to the attention of the Secretary of War and to urge him "to push as strong a column as possible eastward from Corinth," in northeastern Mississippi.[1] This was in Grant's department, and the railroad running east from Memphis was in his possession, but it was too late to meet the emergency. Grant's troops were too much scattered; shortly after the fall of Vicksburg Grant himself had gone to New Orleans, while Sherman, with the bulk of the army, had been frittering his time and strength away in central Mississippi. The government at Washington had been clearly outgeneraled by the government at Richmond, and although Rosecrans had succeeded in concentrating all of his own forces within supporting distance for defence, Bragg had also succeeded in concentrating all the forces placed at his disposal. As it turned out his reinforcements were the larger and his concentration the more formidable. The mystery which surrounded Bragg's purposes was gradually dispelling itself, and yet it was not entirely cleared away till several days after the great battle had been fought. Hour by hour it became more apparent that Bragg was not retreating but was get-

[1] Dana to Stanton, September 14, 1863.

ting ready to give battle. The first clash of arms was at Stevens's Gap, but through misunderstanding or mismanagement on the part of the Confederates their attack was not pushed home. The Confederate forces were not yet sufficiently in hand. Longstreet, unknown to the Union commander, was expected from the eastward by the railroad from Atlanta. The two armies, separated by streams, high ridges, and dense forests, and yet grappling at each other as opportunity offered, drifted gradually towards the northeast. The Army of the Cumberland kept in the valley of the Chickamauga, with its left and rear buttressed against the slopes of Missionary Ridge, and each hour more fully covering Chattanooga, while Bragg swept around to the eastward, covering his own communications with Atlanta and yet more seriously menacing Chattanooga in case victory should crown his efforts. Bragg, of course, knew that Longstreet was near at hand, but Rosecrans was apparently unconscious of this momentous fact, although a despatch from Dana to Stanton, Crawfish Springs, September 16th, shows that a possibility of such reinforcements, by the way of Ringgold or Dalton, had been considered, but that no part of Longstreet's corps had yet been received at Lafayette, which on that day was the seat of Bragg's headquarters. There is no sign yet that Rosecrans had thought of changing from the offensive to the defensive, or that he suspected Bragg of an intention to fight an aggressive battle.

From noon of September 16th till the end of the campaign Dana sent many despatches daily. They refer to every important matter connected with the movements or supply of the army, and must have been of infinite value to the government. One of the earliest of these pointed out that the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, on which the army depended for its supplies, was not only charging the government higher rates than those charged by other roads, but was persistently giving the preference to private freights

or lending its cars to other roads. This condition of affairs fully justified Dana's statement that "it will be impossible to maintain this army without a complete change in the management of that road." His next despatch called for two thousand cavalry remounts, and recommended that the chief quartermaster of that army should be allowed to purchase them.[1] On the 17th headquarters were still without information of Longstreet's arrival. The next day reports were received from various sources that Longstreet had reached Atlanta, and this caused Dana to notify Stanton that Burnside's forces were needed by Rosecrans. At noon, September 18th, he reported the appearance of rebel cavalry and infantry at the front, that our position behind the Chickamauga was excellent, and "everything ready for serious attack." Later in the day he added:

. . . "Our troops are now being drawn towards our left, and concentrated as much as possible. Rosecrans has not yet determined whether to make a night march and fall on them at daylight or to await their onset."

On September 19th, at 10.30 A.M., he telegraphed to Stanton:

. . . "As I write enemy are making diversion on our right. . . . An orderly of Bragg's just captured says there are reports in rebel army of Longstreet's arrival, but he does not know that they are true. Rosecrans has everything ready to grind up Bragg's flank."

At 1 P.M. he corrected his earlier despatch and said the attack was on our left.

"There is [the] fighting."

[1] This entire series of despatches will be found in the *Official Records*, Serial No. 50, pp. 182–221.

At 2.30 P.M.:

"The fight continues to rage; enemy repulsed on left by Thomas has suddenly fallen on right of our line of battle held by Van Cleve; musketry there fierce and obstinate. . . . Decisive victory seems assured to us."

At 3 P.M.:

"Enemy forced back by Crittenden on right has just massed his artillery against Davis on centre. His attack there is the most serious of the day." . . .

At 3.20 P.M.:

"Thomas reports that he is driving rebels and will force them into the Chickamauga to-night. . . . The battle is fought in thick forest, and is invisible to outsiders. Line [of battle] is two miles long."

At 4 P.M.:

"Everything is prosperous."

At 4.30 PM.:

"I do not dare to say our victory is complete, but it seems certain. Enemy silenced on nearly whole line. Longstreet is here."

At 5.20 P.M.:

"Firing has ceased. . . . Enemy holds his ground in many places. . . . Now appears to be undecided contest." . . .

At 7.30 P.M.:

"The firing did not cease till an hour after dark, the feeble light of the moon favoring the combatants; this gives us

decidedly the advantage in respect of ground. The result of the battle is that enemy is defeated in attempt to turn our left flank and regain possession of Chattanooga. His attempt was furious and obstinate; his repulse was bloody and maintained to the end. If he does not retreat, Rosecrans will renew the fight at daylight. His dispositions are now being made." . . .

At 8 P.M. Dana reported the number of men which had not been engaged as two brigades and one regiment there and the reserve corps of eight thousand at Rossville; the number of prisoners captured as two hundred and fifty from thirty different regiments; ten guns captured, seven lost. At 11 P.M., that the number of wounded did not exceed two thousand. It will be observed that although Dana's despatches show Longstreet as having made his appearance, they leave it to be inferred that Rosecrans had utterly failed to take him into account. This was a fatal error, the deplorable consequences of which were destined to show themselves the next day; but as yet no one in the National army seemed to be conscious of the disaster which was at hand. Withal, the bitter struggle from dawn till dark had filled officers and men, from the highest to the lowest, with feelings of apprehension. They had held their own, especially on the left across the Lafayette-Chattanooga road, but as it turned out the centre and right were not only weakly posted but too much spread out for a successful defence.

That night Rosecrans called a council of war at the Widow Glen's house which Dana and the leading generals attended, but which does not seem to have resulted in any adequate conception of the real situation nor in any immediate dispositions to solidify and strengthen the irregular line of defence into which the army had been forced. Thomas, upon whom the heaviest fighting of the day had

fallen, had made good his position and felt sure he could hold it, but wanted reinforcements. Apparently it was the opinion of those present that the position should be strengthened by sending the detached divisions back to their respective corps, closing the army to the left, straightening the line of intrenchments, and strengthening them where necessary. Written and verbal orders for the most essential of these measures were duly sent out, but instead of making the necessary changes at once, under cover of darkness, they were put off till the next day. This delay was due mainly to the fact that both officers and men were overcome with fatigue. They had been marching for several days and fighting more or less constantly for the last fourteen hours. As Dana had already reported, all but two brigades of the National army within reach had been engaged; and so, unwarned by martial instinct or by experiences of the past, the generals, as Dana related to me a few days later, after drinking hot coffee and hearing General McCook sing "The Hebrew Maiden," repaired to their respective commands and waited till after daylight before starting to consolidate their lines and strengthen their intrenchments.

Within the enemy's lines the situation was far more hopeful. While they had been held in check throughout the day and the battle was an undecided one, they were conscious that with the aid of Longstreet's hardy veterans from the East victory might fairly be expected to smile upon them the next day. They had acquired a wholesome dread of the National left under the invincible Thomas. They had thrown themselves in vain time and again against the improvised breastworks which everywhere barred their advance, and now, reinforced by fifteen thousand fresh troops, they had wisely decided to try their fortunes in a turning movement against the National right. The distances to be passed over to that flank by Longstreet, coming in from the

Atlanta Railroad, were several miles greater, but as the country was unknown to him the forenoon was well advanced before he got within fighting range of the Union right. The first shot seems to have been fired at about nine o'clock. By ten o'clock, or a little after, the battle was raging furiously from left to right, but nothing had yet occurred to reveal Bragg's real plan of battle or where his heaviest attack might be expected. The most that can be said is that while Thomas from the first believed he was receiving it and was calling for reinforcements, the fatal weakness of the Union line was not yet apparent. Rosecrans, who was up bright and early, rode from one flank to the other of his army before the action began, but he had as yet failed to detect the weak spots or to insist upon the proper disposition of his troops to render their position impregnable.

The story of the bloody disaster which followed the sustained attack of Longstreet against Rosecrans's right was first made known in Washington by Dana's despatch from Chattanooga, dated September 20th—4 P.M. He had been too much engaged in watching the battle to write or send messages from the field, and it must be confessed that the earlier stages of the second day's struggle were too uncertain, too ill-defined, to justify anything but the most general statements. That none whatever was sent is one of the most ominous circumstances of that memorable morning. It is not my purpose to recount the details here, but merely to point out the fact that Dana, who happened to be behind the divisions of Davis and Sheridan, which had just been placed in line to fill the gap made by the withdrawal of Wood, was swept away in the *débâcle* which followed the first successful onrush of the Confederate columns, and as soon as he could disentangle himself rode rapidly to Chattanooga. It must be added that Rosecrans, McCook, Crittenden, Sheridan, Davis, Van Cleve, and many

staff-officers, including Horace Porter and J. P. Drouillard, were also borne irresistibly to the rear by the troops who had fled in what Dana designates as "wholesale panic." [1] These officers, with only one exception, were regulars, with two West-Pointers of approved experience and unimpeachable valor. Had they known or even supposed that the left and left centre would hold fast they would surely have stayed on the field till the battle was over. They did the very best they could with the light they had, and history must so record it, notwithstanding the criticism which was so freely visited upon their conduct at that time and afterwards.

The story of the battle, and the events of that afternoon and night, have been told many times and in many different ways from that day to this. Dana's despatches give the essential details as they came to his knowledge, but there is on the whole no better nor more comprehensive summary of what actually took place than is contained in a letter which he wrote to me just a fortnight after the battle. It is dated Chattanooga, October 3, 1863, and as it has not been previously printed I give it in full as a part of this narrative:

. . . "I have been here now some four weeks, having witnessed the movements of the campaign for some ten days previous to the battle of Chickamauga, and seen the greatest but not the best part of that battle. I was standing with General Rosecrans just in the rear of the right of Jeff. C. Davis's division when it was broken by the rebel columns and fled in utter panic. Bull Run had nothing more terrible than the rout and flight of these veteran soldiers. The enemy came upon them in columns six lines deep, formed with brigade fronts, three brigades being massed behind each other, firing as they advanced. The fire was more violent

[1] Dana to Stanton, Chattanooga, September 20th.

than I ever heard before, but I do not think our lines would have been broken but for a gap in them caused by taking Wood's division from the centre to reinforce the left, and not entirely filling up the space thus vacated. Through that gap the rebels came in, and then Davis's division broke and ran in helpless panic. I never saw anything so crushing to the mind as that scene. I was swept away with part of Rosecrans's staff, and lost in the rabble. Some of these officers, and especially Drouillard and Porter, drew their swords and worked like good fellows trying to rally and reorganize the fugitives; but as often as they got a squad together a shell crashing through the tree-tops (for the battle was fought mainly in a forest), or a few canister-shots dropping on the dry leaves, would send the cowards packing again.

"I rode twelve miles to Chattanooga, galloping my horse all the way, to send despatches to Washington, and found the road filled all the distance with baggage-wagons, artillery, ambulances, negroes on horseback, field and company officers, wounded men limping along, Union refugees from the country around leading their wives and children, mules running along loose, squads of cavalry—in short, every element that could confuse the rout of a great army, not excepting a major-general commanding an army corps, . . . while part of the corps . . . remained to cover themselves with glory and save everything by fighting on the left under the lead of that magnificent old hero, General Thomas, and of Gordon Granger, the Marshal Ney of the war. It was a great fight which these twenty-five thousand men waged there against eighty thousand (Bragg had sixty-seven thousand veterans and fifteen thousand militia) till darkness covered the field, and it saved everything for us. In this fight the men who most distinguished themselves were Generals Thomas, Granger, Steedman, Brannan, Palmer, Hazen, Turchin, and Colonel Harker. The last-named commanded a brigade which got out of ammunition, and at the end three times repulsed the columns of Longstreet with the bayonet. But they were all heroes, and we owe them a debt of gratitude we can never sufficiently pay. They punished the enemy so awfully that

if our forces had remained on the ground, it is the opinion of General Thomas, as well as of many others less judicious and reserved than he, that the enemy must have retreated. But Thomas was not sure that he could get up supplies of ammunition in season, and retired accordingly.

"Our loss in this battle was about fourteen thousand killed, wounded, and missing, and forty pieces of artillery. But we repulsed the enemy even after one-half our line of battle was dissolved, and saved Chattanooga. The conduct of McCook and Crittenden in leaving their commands is to be investigated by a court of inquiry, and the order relieving them from command and consolidating the two corps (now together about fifteen thousand strong) into one under Granger is now on its way here from Washington.

"I should also tell you that General Rosecrans came to Chattanooga after the rout of the left, and consequently bore no part in the glory of the afternoon's battle. He seems in consequence to have lost some of his great popularity with the soldiers, whose idol is now very naturally the man who saved them, and indeed saved us all, Thomas. For my own part, I confess I share their feeling. I know no other man whose composition and character are so much like those of Washington; he is at once an elegant gentleman and a heroic soldier.

"But I shall let my pen run on in a protracted scrawl which you will find it very difficult to read, I fear. I must tell you that I am charmed with Porter, and that some of us are trying to make him, or have him made, a colonel. As for the general condition of this army, I must write you another time. There is much to say about it. But at the bottom it is essentially the same sort of an army as that of the Tennessee.

"Some of your troops will now come this way, of course. I wish it were possible for you to come with them. This is a much more difficult country to campaign in than Louisiana and Mississippi. Here it is all mountain warfare, to be waged over high ridges with few passes and in narrow valleys. It is a most picturesque region, rich in minerals, but of little worth for agriculture.

"Your letter is so good that I shall send it to the Secretary of War. Remember me kindly to the general, to Rawlins, and to Bowers."

It will be observed that this letter contains no explanation of why Rosecrans did not sally out at daylight on the second day of the battle and "grind up Bragg's flank," as he must have told Dana he intended to do. It makes no explanation of why he failed entirely to assume the offensive, by a turning movement against the enemy's right, as he might have done. It makes no suggestion that the battle was fought primarily to "save Chattanooga," although that was the actual result. It gives no explanation of Rosecrans's change of plan from a pursuit of the flying enemy to a defensive battle for the salvation of his strategic base of operations. But no one can read Dana's despatches in connection with this letter, and the Confederate reports, without reaching the conclusion that the controlling factor in the great battle was the timely arrival of Longstreet's corps from the East, and the decisive part it took in the second day's fighting.

From Dana's two despatches of the 20th, as well as from the more deliberate statements of the correspondents and historical writers, there can be no doubt that the fortuitous coming of Granger and Steedman, with five thousand men of the reserve corps, to the right of the line at Chickamauga arrested the progress of Longstreet and saved the Union army from ruin. Dana did all in his power for Granger and Steedman, as he did for many others whose qualities attracted his attention in this campaign. Colonel Harker, whom he mentions with others as having especially distinguished himself, was a young West-Pointer who was promoted to brigadier-general for conspicuous gallantry in this battle. Many other officers who fought at Chickamauga, and especially those who held the field with Thomas, owe much of

their future distinction to Dana's recommendation. Indeed, it may be said that in this campaign as well as in that of Vicksburg, Dana's greatest service was due to the light his correspondence and his conversation threw upon the conduct and personal qualities of the various officers who came under his observation. There can be no doubt that his influence with Stanton was from the first in favor of relieving Rosecrans from the command of the Army of the Cumberland and placing it in charge of Thomas. He was also one of the first persons in official station to urge the consolidation of the military departments in the country tributary to the Mississippi under one supreme commander, as suggested by Grant in his memorable letter from Memphis, January 20, 1863.[1] He had been fully acquainted at Milliken's Bend with Grant's views on that subject, and in his despatch of September 27th he specially spoke of that general for the chief command. Preceded as this mention was by a searching analysis of Rosecrans's character, and a conclusive demonstration of his incapacity to meet the great emergencies of his position, it could not fail to command Stanton's approval. Grant, it will be remembered, was left at that time comparatively idle. After capturing Fort Donelson and the army defending it, he had captured Vicksburg and its still larger garrison. He had thus gained two out of the three great strategic centres of the Mississippi Valley; and inasmuch as his were the only complete victories so far won by the National forces, it seemed to be inevitable that Grant should be called upon to make good the nation's hold upon the third great objective point of the war in the Southwest.

Dana's despatches to the secretary are conclusive on these points, but in addition they throw important light on the entire course of events both before and after the great

[1] Badeau, *Military History of U. S. Grant*, vol. i., p. 626.

battle. Not the least important report sent by him to Washington, September 21st, was the rumor that Ewell's corps from Virginia had also joined Bragg, too late to take part in the battle, that it was said to be now moving to the Tennessee River above Chattanooga. He evidently doubted this report, for in the same despatch he added, with a perfect insight into the probabilities of the case, "but if Ewell be really there, Rosecrans will have to retreat beyond the Tennessee." Only that morning he had reported for the first time that Longstreet was certainly there. Two hours and a half later, on the testimony of "an intelligent deserter," he added that all of Johnston's Mississippi army was with Bragg, that Mobile had been stripped of soldiers, and that the entire Confederacy seemed to be concentrated in front of Chattanooga. While it turned out later that these reports were not literally correct, that Ewell had not yet arrived, and that the Confederacy had not concentrated all of its forces under Bragg, Dana's vigorous despatches had the immediate effect of so arousing the government that it at once put forth its best efforts to reinforce the army now gathered at Chattanooga by troops from every quarter that could spare them. Burnside was again ordered down from east Tennessee. On September 23d two army corps under Hooker were ordered out from Virginia, while two under Sherman had been already ordered up from Mississippi. But what was still more important as a direct consequence of the situation at and about Chattanooga, and of Dana's voluminous representations in regard to it, were the orders which finally transferred Grant himself to that theatre of operations, consolidated the departments of the Tennessee, the Cumberland, and the Ohio into the Military Division of the Mississippi, and gave its commander complete authority over all the military forces within its widely extended limits. That Dana's letters and despatches contained the first suggestions on which these

great measures were based there can be no doubt. Between September 21st and October 18th, inclusive, a period of twenty-eight days, Dana sent fifty-eight despatches, or a daily average of slightly over two, to Stanton; and these despatches touched every important rumor and event, as well as every important officer, connected with the campaign and battle of Chickamauga, and with the events which followed the retreat of the Union army into the intrenchments of Chattanooga. After making it clear that the army was safe from the enemy behind the fortifications, he laid bare with a pitiless hand the incapacity, the imbecility, and the utter lack of firmness which characterized the conduct of Rosecrans. He called attention to his failure to enforce the discipline of the army against superior officers charged with drunkenness and neglect of duty, and finally declared that it often "seemed difficult to believe him of sound mind." He commented with the utmost freedom upon every circumstance connected with the alleged misconduct of corps, division, and brigade commanders, and pointed out the needs of the army in every department. He was one of the first to mention the starving condition of the artillery horses, and also of the mules used for hauling supplies from the rear. Recognizing that with the break-down of the transport department the soldiers themselves would soon be starving, unless the most vigorous efforts should be put forth to shorten the line of supplies and to maintain it intact against interruption by the enemy, he reported that "the appointment of Baldy Smith as chief engineer of the department infuses much energy and judgment into that branch of the operations"; that the department staff had been entirely reorganized, with Major-General Reynolds chief of staff, General Smith engineer, and General Brannan chief of artillery, and that "the remarkable strength of the new staff cannot fail to add much to the discipline of the army."

On October 8th he mentions General Rousseau as one "who seems to be regarded throughout this army as an ass of eminent gifts"—that the consolidation of the two corps was well received and "must produce the most happy consequences"—but to avoid the impression that the measure was intended as "a token of disgrace and punishment," he recommended that an order should be issued from Washington complimenting the steadiness and gallantry of the men, and putting the consolidation on its true grounds. On the 11th he called attention to the fact that his despatches had been deciphered and their contents partly made known while in transit through Nashville and Louisville, and that he should have a new cipher whose meaning no operator could guess out. The next day he called attention to the fact that if Bragg should make a serious effort to march into Kentucky, "this army will find itself in a very helpless and dangerous condition," that "it has on hand but two days' rations for the troops," that the mountain and bottom roads north of the river "might any day be made impracticable by a little rain," that a fatal mistake had been made in "the abandonment of Lookout Mountain to the rebels" against the earnest protest of Granger and Garfield, that they were "unquestionably right," and that

"Rosecrans, who is sometimes as obstinate and inaccessible to reason, as at others he is irresolute, vacillating, and inconclusive, pettishly rejected all their arguments, and the mountain was given up. It is difficult to say which was the greater error, this order or that which on the day of battle created the gap in our lines. At any rate, such is our present situation: our animals starved, and the men with starvation before them, and the enemy bound to make desperate efforts to dislodge us.

"In the midst of this the commanding general devotes that part of the time which is not employed in pleasant gossip to the composition of a long report to prove that the

government is to blame for his failure. It is my duty to declare that while few persons exhibit more estimable social qualities, I have never seen a public man possessing talent with less administrative power, less clearness and steadiness in difficulty, and greater practical incapacity than General Rosecrans. He has inventive fertility and knowledge, but he has no strength of will and no concentration of purpose. His mind scatters; there is no system in the use of his busy days and restless nights, no courage against individuals in his composition, and with great love of command, he is a feeble commander. He is conscientious and honest, just as he is imperious and disputatious; always with a stray vein of caprice and an overweening passion for the approbation of his personal friends and the public outside.

"Under the present circumstances, I consider this army to be very unsafe in his hands, but know of no man except Thomas who could now be safely put in his place."

That same afternoon Dana reported Jefferson Davis as being present with Bragg's army. On the 12th he asks Stanton if it would not be possible for General Halleck to come to Chattanooga, adding, "What is needed to extricate this army is the highest administrative talent, and that without delay." After thirty-six hours of heavy rain, which had swollen the rivers and greatly injured the roads, he reported the country as denuded of forage and food, that the troops had been put on three-quarter rations, and that it was imperatively necessary to open the river and shorten the lines of wagon transportation. On the 15th he reported that it was still raining with great violence, the mud in the roads was constantly growing deeper, that the troops had now been put on half rations, and that it would soon become necessary for all persons except soldiers to leave Chattanooga. In that case he asked if he should return to Washington or endeavor to make his way to Burnside. On October 16th he reported that although there had been but

little rain for sixteen hours the mud was growing deeper, the mortality among the animals increasing, that the mules "were too weak to haul the wagons up the mountains without doubling the teams," and that the chief of artillery had told him that in case of retirement "he could not possibly haul away the artillery with the horses that are left." In the same despatch he adds:

. . . "Nothing can prevent the retreat of the army from this place within a fortnight, and with a vast loss of public property and possibly of life, except the opening of the river. . . . In the midst of all these difficulties General Rosecrans seems to be insensible to the impending danger, and dawdles with trifles in a manner which can scarcely be imagined. . . . Meanwhile, with plenty of zealous and energetic officers ready to do whatever can be done, all this precious time is lost because our dazed and mazy commander cannot perceive the catastrophe that is close upon us, nor fix his mind on the means of preventing it. I never saw anything which seemed so lamentable and hopeless."

The same afternoon he telegraphed that he had just had

"a full conversation with General Rosecrans upon the situation, in which he says that the possession of the river as far up as the head of Williams Island, at least, is a *sine qua non* to the holding of Chattanooga." . . . That Rosecrans expects "'as soon as the weather will allow, the enemy will cross the river in force on our left, and then it will be necessary for us to fight a battle, or else to retreat from here, and attempt to hold the line of the Cumberland Mountains.'" . . . And finally that Rosecrans "inclines to the opinion that they will rather attempt to crush Burnside first."

In the foregoing it is painfully manifest that there is neither plan nor purpose. All is vague, uncertain, and vacillating in the mind of the commanding general. So

much so, indeed, was this the case, that Dana, at eleven o'clock on the 17th, turns again to the subject with the declaration that

"The general organization of this army is inefficient, and its discipline defective. The former proceeds from the fact that General Rosecrans insists on personally directing every department, and keeps every one waiting and uncertain till he himself can directly supervise every operation. The latter proceeds from his utter lack of firmness, his passion for universal applause, and his incapacity to hurt any man's feelings by just severity. . . . There is thus practically no discipline for superior officers, and, of course, the evil, though less pernicious in the lower grades, is everywhere perceptible."

On the 18th, although it was raining again, there was hope for the final cessation of the storm.

"Meanwhile," Dana adds, "our condition and prospects grow worse and worse. The roads are in such a state that wagons are eight days making the journey from Stevenson to Chattanooga, and some which left on the 10th have not yet arrived. Though subsistence stores are so nearly exhausted here, the wagons are compelled to throw overboard portions of their precious cargo in order to get through at all. The returning trains have now, for some days, been stopped on this side of the Sequatchie, and a civilian who reached here last night states that he saw fully five hundred teams halted between the mountain and the river, without forage for the animals, and unable to move in any direction.

"I rode through the camps here yesterday, and can testify that my previous reports respecting the starvation of the battery horses were not exaggerated. A few days more and most of them will be dead. . . . It does not seem possible to hold out here another week without a new avenue of supplies. . . . Amid all this the practical incapacity of the general commanding is astonishing, and it often seems diffi-

cult to believe him of sound mind. His imbecility appears to be contagious, and it is difficult for any one to get anything done; . . . and if the army is finally obliged to retreat, the probability is that it will fall back like a rabble, leaving its artillery, and protected only by the river behind it. If, on the other hand, we regain control of the river and keep it, subsistence and forage can be got here, and we may escape with no worse misfortune than the loss of twelve thousand animals."

This was the last of Dana's despatches for that period. It will be observed that they were written from hour to hour and gave an exact account of events as they appeared to him at the time. What is more, they had thoroughly aroused the government and caused it to put forth its best efforts to save Chattanooga and the army which had been shut up and beleaguered within its fortifications. In addition to these despatches Dana also wrote letters from time to time to the Secretary of War, but as they have not been published in the *Official Records* it is probable that they were considered as private and confidential. Dana himself kept no copies, and if the originals are in existence they will probably be found among the private papers and correspondence of Stanton.

In connection with this subject it may be well to call attention to the fact that long after the campaigns of Chickamauga and Chattanooga were closed, General Rosecrans and his friends set up the claim that the battle of Chickamauga was fought for the primary purpose of making good his hold on Chattanooga, which had been the principal objective of the campaign from the first, and that after his army had occupied that place and come so near being forced by starvation to retreat from it, he had formed a definite plan for shortening his supply line by opening the river and the Lookout Valley to Bridgeport. This view of the case is in no way supported by Dana's despatches. While they mention the fact that Rosecrans recognized the necessity

of shortening the line, and intimate that he may have had a vague purpose of that sort, they make it clear that he did not regard the emergency as nearly so great as it appeared to Dana, nor believe that the shorter line could be opened till Hooker's corps, detached from the Army of the Potomac on the 23d, should arrive at Bridgeport and occupy the country between there and Chattanooga. It is specially worthy of note that there is not a word in any of these despatches foreshadowing the plan which was actually devised by General William F. Smith, and successfully carried into effect under his supervision. While it is abundantly evident that Dana reported from time to time everything that came under his observation, it is also evident that he was really much more concerned with conditions as they actually existed than with the means of changing them, that he felt it to be a matter of much greater importance to get rid of the incapable Rosecrans and secure the appointment of a competent man to take his place than to report or pass upon such plans as might be passing through his hazy mind. And that this was the view that the secretary took of Dana's recommendations is abundantly shown by the sequel. As early as September 30th Stanton telegraphed him:

. . . "If Hooker's command get safely through, all that the Army of the Cumberland can need will be a competent commander. The merit of General Thomas, and the debt of gratitude the nation owes to his valor and skill, are fully appreciated here, and I wish you to tell him so. It was not my fault that he was not in chief command months ago."

But this is not all. Immediately after receiving the analysis of Rosecrans's character contained in Dana's despatches of September 27th and September 30th, the Secretary of War ordered Grant to Cairo by telegraph for confer-

ence. This was on October 3d, but as this despatch had to be transmitted to Grant at Vicksburg by steamer, it did not reach him till the 10th. It was, however, expected, and no time was lost in complying with its terms. General Grant and his entire headquarters started at 11 P.M. that night, but the steamboat was a slow one, and did not reach Cairo till the morning of the 16th. Having reported his arrival at once, he received a telegram the next day from Halleck, directing him to proceed to Louisville, where he would "meet an officer of the War Department with orders and instructions." As it turned out, the secretary himself was the officer who was to meet Grant, and the first meeting between these distinguished men took place on the morning of September 18, 1863, in the Union Station at Indianapolis. It was not altogether free from embarrassment to Stanton, who had somewhat impulsively mistaken Dr. Kittoe, the staff surgeon, for the general. Trivial as this incident may seem, Dana and the officers present always believed that it produced an unfavorable impression which lasted till the secretary's death. That he was disappointed in the general's appearance and bearing cannot be positively stated, but it is certain they never became devoted friends. They went on together to Louisville, arriving there the same night. They spent two days together in continued conference, the result of which was that Grant was placed in command of the Military Division, Rosecrans was relieved, Thomas was assigned to the command of the Army of the Cumberland, and a full understanding was reached in reference to future operations.

On his departure from Washington, Stanton had telegraphed Dana also to meet him at Louisville, but this order was delayed in transmission did not reach Dana till the 19th. Meanwhile he had come to the conclusion that Rosecrans, unless restrained by a positive order, "would retreat at once from Chattanooga." To make sure that

this should not be done he sent a despatch to the secretary at Louisville, and then set out on a most fatiguing horseback ride across Walden's Ridge through Jasper to Bridgeport, where he arrived the same night. The next day the special train by which he was going North met General Grant and his staff near Nashville in another special going South. Stanton, having finished his mission, had returned to Washington, but before leaving had authorized Grant to take Dana, whom he had not met, back to Chattanooga, and this was done, to the satisfaction of all concerned.

It will be noted that every point made by Dana had been covered by the secretary's orders. Rosecrans had not only been relieved, but to prevent the possibility of the further disaster, Thomas had been ordered, October 19th, 11.30 P.M., to "Hold Chattanooga at all hazards," and had replied at once, "I will hold the town till we starve!"

It is of course possible that these orders would have been issued without Dana's interposition, but under all the circumstances of the case it must be considered as greatly to his credit that he should have anticipated them one and all by the information as well as by the specific recommendations contained in his despatches from the immediate scene of action. When it is recalled that Lincoln himself had styled Dana "the eyes of the government at the front," and that all of his despatches as soon as read at the War Department were sent at once to the White House, the conclusion is irresistible that they were the actuating cause of the changes which they recommended.

XVII

CAMPAIGN OF CHATTANOOGA

Dana guides Grant and staff—Thomas's relations to Grant—Through Lookout Valley—Dana in the field—Missionary Ridge—Expedition to Knoxville—Dana and Carl Schurz—Return to Washington

General Grant had hardly arrived at Stevenson on the afternoon of October 21, 1863, when he was met by an officer bearing an invitation from General Hooker to call upon him. They had been companions and possibly cronies in less fortunate days; besides, it was alleged that Hooker was ill; but neither Grant nor his staff considered this as a proper excuse for Hooker's marked violation of established military etiquette. Dana, like the rest, noted with approval that Grant, although not yet fully recovered from his late fall, made no reference to his own lameness, but, quietly ignoring the invitation of his subordinate, indicated that he desired to see at his car that night all the general officers within reach before going on to Bridgeport, the end of the road in operation. The incident was a trivial one, but its effect was all that could be desired. It was followed immediately by a call from Hooker, who showed no particular sign of illness, as well as from Rosecrans, Howard, and Butterfield.

At nine o'clock the next morning the party set out from Bridgeport on horseback for Chattanooga, by the way of the roundabout road through Jasper. Grant was accompanied in this ride by General Howard, as well as by Dana, Rawlins, Wilson, Bowers, Parker, and a few orderlies.

Dana, who knew the road well, was the guide as far as Jasper. Here the party divided, Grant and staff taking the longer route, while Dana and I, after baiting our horses, climbed Walden's Ridge by a cut-off road which he knew well. We made our way by moonlight to the eastern edge of the plateau overlooking the valley of the Tennessee, and the beleaguered town some seven miles away as the crow flies. Here we rested till the moon went down. We then descended the mountain to the crooked road along the north bank to the ferry at Chattanooga. As the south bank was only a couple of hundred yards away and in the possession of the enemy, our ride was an exciting one, within close range of the enemy's pickets, till we came to Moccasin Point. We ran the gantlet for several miles as rapidly and as noiselessly as possible, keeping within the shadow of the overhanging trees and seeking out the soft parts of the road so that the enemy's vedettes might neither see nor hear us. Fortunately we were fired upon but once, and reached the ferry without injury. Dana was known to the guard, who set us across the river without delay. He was also familiar with the streets of the town and guided our party quickly to Captain Porter's quarters, where we arrived shortly before midnight. Although we were not expected, we were received with true military hospitality. Our host gave us the best he had, but his supplies were limited. Our horses got only two ears of corn apiece, and each of us only one square of fried hardtack, with a small piece of salt pork and a cup of army coffee without milk or sugar. After our ride of fifty-five miles that day it was a most satisfactory meal, but it told its direful story of approaching starvation for the besieged in words far more impressive than any formal report.

Still guided by Dana, we mounted early next morning and rode at once to pay our respects to General Thomas, the new commander. This was my first meeting with that

distinguished man, but, introduced by Dana, it was the beginning of a friendship which speedily became intimate and lasted till his death. He received us with every mark of consideration, and during the conversation which followed he made haste to say, "Mr. Dana, you have got me this time; but there is nothing for a man to do in such a case but to obey orders." This was an allusion to the disinclination which he had frequently shown to supplant those in authority over him. He of course knew that he was the legitimate successor of Rosecrans. He knew also that the latter could not longer hold command of that army without great injury to its efficiency, and this was his method of letting it be officially understood that he was done declining the responsibilities and honors to which he was justly entitled. This interview over, we called upon General Smith, the chief engineer, and General Brannan, the chief of artillery. Those distinguished officers at once declared that under the sane and steady guidance of Thomas the danger of further disaster had not only disappeared but that order and confidence had already been established throughout the army. Our next duty was to ride the lines, visit the advance posts, and confer with the actual commanders of the troops. Everywhere we found short rations, little forage, and plenty of hungry soldiers and starving animals. And yet every vestige of discontentment had disappeared. Everybody seemed cheerful and hopeful. Officers and men alike had regained resolution and courage. Smith had already worked out his plans "for shortening the cracker line," and Thomas had given them his approval. It remained only to lay them before Grant and under his sanction to perfect the means of putting them into effect.

That night at nine o'clock Grant and his staff, "wet, dirty, and well," rode into town and went at once to Thomas's headquarters, where Dana and I soon found them.

It had been raining hard most of the day. The roads were rough, muddy, and slippery. The distances to be traversed were great, and the gait of Grant and his staff was too rapid for the headquarters' wagons. As a consequence they were left behind in the mountains and did not arrive till the next day. Meanwhile, Grant's horse had fallen and severely bruised his lame leg, his clothes were soaked with rain, and both he and his staff were ravenously hungry. Although they had been taken in at Thomas's headquarters, they were not expected, and strangely enough nothing had been done to relieve their discomfort, when Dana and I arrived on the scene. Grant was sitting on one side of the fire over a puddle of water that had run out of his clothes; Thomas, glum and silent, was sitting on the other, while Rawlins and the rest were scattered about in disorder. The situation was embarrassing, but Dana and I took it in almost at a glance, and after a moment's conference with Rawlins, who had already begun to show his anger, I broke in with the remark: "General Thomas, General Grant is wet, hungry, and in pain; his wagons and camp equipage are far behind; can you not find quarters and some dry clothes for him, and direct your officers to provide the party with supper?"

This suggestive question broke the spell and brought to Thomas's serious countenance a smile of cordiality which, although belated, was followed at once by orders to Willard, his senior aide-de-camp, for rooms, dry clothes, and supper. Conversation began, and it was not long till a glow of warmth and cheerfulness prevailed. Smith and Porter came in and were presented, and before the evening closed the casual observer would not have suspected that there had been the slightest lack of cordiality in the reception which had been accorded to the weary general and his staff.

The foregoing incident was nevertheless an important one, and was followed by important consequences which

more or less seriously affected the relations of Grant and Thomas to the end of their lives. These great officers were singularly alike in taciturnity and pride, much as they differed in other respects. Grant, while slow to suspect incivility from any one, was not incapable of seeing it when his attention was called to it. He was personally kind, gentle, and hospitable, and never suspected any one else of being less so than himself; but Rawlins was alert and suspicious, and never forgot or forgave the incivility of this incident. Dana and I discussed it frequently afterwards, and came to the conclusion that it had its origin in the Shiloh campaign, where Grant, although nominally second in command, was really in disfavor, while Thomas, who belonged to another army, had been put in command of nearly all of Grant's troops. But back of that, Thomas's services and connections with the old army had been more creditable than Grant's, while his rank had been higher. As volunteer generals they had both done most excellent service. If Grant had captured Fort Donelson and taken Vicksburg, Thomas had won the battle of Mill Spring, had assisted in turning the disaster at Shiloh into a glorious victory, and by his personal courage and determination had saved the Army of the Cumberland at Chickamauga. If one had rendered great services, the other had also. Under the circumstances of their respective careers they, as well as their friends, might well differ in regard to which was the greater or more deserving man. After all, they were but men, honorable and upright, to be sure, but neither indifferent to his own interests nor to his own merits. Each respected the other, but neither respected nor valued the other more than himself. Each had confidence in the other, but neither had as much confidence in the other as in himself. While Thomas was far too lofty a man to criticise his commanding general, both Dana and I held the opinion from that time forth that Grant had more confidence in Thomas than

Thomas had in Grant, and that the incident in question grew out of the feeling which was perhaps unconscious on the part of Thomas, that in the command of the Army of the Cumberland he required supervision from no one, and especially not from Grant.

This view of the case was confirmed by the fact that from that time forth the staff of General Thomas, which was presided over by a distinguished but somewhat narrow-minded regular, never worked in harmony with the staff of General Grant nor showed proper subordination to it. They necessarily had much to do with each other, but they never worked cordially or harmoniously together. It is interesting to add that while Dana was a silent observer he always held that the conduct of Grant and his chief of staff during these trying times was more to be commended than that of their subordinates.

In spite of the chilly welcome Grant had received the evening before, he rode with Thomas bright and early to look over the ground which Smith had discovered at Brown's Ferry, opposite the north end of Lookout Valley, as a basis of operations for "shortening the cracker line." Dana's work for the rest of the campaign was of secondary importance. He established his former relations with Grant and was everywhere treated as a member of his staff, but he had but little to do except to "act as the eyes of the government," and keep it fully informed of the operations in progress.

He not only accompanied the generals in the reconnoissance which they made on Saturday, but on the next afternoon at five o'clock he started with me overland to join Hooker's column on its march from Bridgeport through Wauhatchie and Lookout Valley to Brown's Ferry. Dana had come to know the country on both sides of the river thoroughly, and it seemed to be as great a pleasure to him in this campaign as in that of Vicksburg to take part in the

movements of the troops. We arrived at Bridgeport at noon Monday, but instead of finding all arrangements completed, Hooker was neither there in person nor were his troops ready to begin the movement till sunrise the next morning. We got off at sunrise the next day, reached Shellmound by 10.30 A.M., and Whitesides by night. On the way we inspected the coal-mines and the Nickajack caves. The following day the column, with but little skirmishing, went into camp at Wauhatchie, within a few miles of the bridge which Smith, by a brilliant series of operations, had laid at Brown's Ferry. Instead, however, of remaining with Hooker, we cautioned him against a surprise, and proceeded by way of the new bridge to Chattanooga, and were thus the first to use the shorter "cracker line," which was to play such an important part in relieving the army from want and preparing the way for future victories. We arrived at headquarters after dark, and at once reported Hooker's exposed position, urging that he should be ordered to withdraw to the bridge that night. We pointed out that his camp was within cannon-shot of Lookout Mountain, and that the enemy would doubtless fall upon it in force before daylight. Grant was both provoked and anxious. He had but a poor opinion of Hooker at best, and neither the incident at Stevenson nor our report had diminished his anxiety. We had done all we could to convince Hooker that he was in danger, as had Hazen, who was in command at the bridge-head, but Grant sent no further orders, and Hooker did not move. The temptation was too great for the enemy, and the consequence was the bloody affair of Wauhatchie, which took place between midnight and four o'clock next morning,[1] at the cost of several hundred men killed, wounded, and prisoners.

[1] Dana to Stanton, October 29th and 30th.

The next morning Dana and I rode with Grant and Thomas into Lookout Valley, where we met Hooker, Howard, and Geary. The meeting, as may well be imagined, deepened Grant's mistrust of Hooker, and resulted, as soon as he got back to headquarters, in a despatch from Dana to Stanton, dated that day, October 29, 1863—1 P.M., which runs as follows:

"General Grant desires me to request for him that Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Wilson, of his staff, Captain of Engineers, be appointed Brigadier-General of Volunteers. Grant wants him to command cavalry, for which he possesses uncommon qualifications. Knowing Wilson thoroughly, I heartily indorse the application.

"Grant also wishes to have both Hooker and Slocum removed from his command, and the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps consolidated under Howard. He would himself order Hooker and Slocum away, but hesitates because they have just been sent here by the President. Besides, I think he would rather prefer that so serious a proceeding should come from headquarters. Hooker has behaved badly ever since his arrival, and Slocum has just sent in a very disorderly communication, stating that when he came here it was under promise that he should not have to serve under Hooker, whom he neither regards with confidence nor respects as a man. Altogether, Grant feels that their presence here is replete with both trouble and danger." . . .

As I was detached the same afternoon with orders to examine and fortify the passes in Lookout Mountain, I knew nothing of this despatch till my return to headquarters several days later. It was then communicated to me by Rawlins and Dana in response to the appeal I was making at the time to secure promotion for Porter. My promotion, to take effect from the date of its recommendation, came in due time, but, for reasons which I never ascertained, Grant's request for the removal of

Hooker and Slocum from his command was not granted, and this is specially noticeable for the reason that such requests through Dana were generally complied with promptly enough.

During the first week of November Bragg detached a part of his force, and it was correctly surmised that this was for the purpose of co-operating with other Confederate forces in an effort to drive Burnside out of east Tennessee. Grant therefore became anxious to know the actual condition of affairs in Burnside's department, and concluded to send Dana and myself to ascertain, with discretionary authority to issue orders in his name, should it become necessary to secure compliance with such suggestions as we might think best to make.

We started November 9th, with an escort consisting of one troop of cavalry. The distance to Knoxville, by the route we took to avoid the enemy's main body, was about one hundred and seventy-five miles. That part of Tennessee, although no longer a newly settled country, abounded in forests and streams difficult to cross. The nights were getting cold, the roads were bad, and the entire country open to raids of the Confederate cavalry. We succeeded in making our way through Smith's Cross-roads, Prestonville, and Kingston, to Lenoir's Station, and thence by rail to Knoxville, where we arrived late at night on the 12th. Calling at once on Burnside, we spent most of the night and the next day in conference with him and his generals. Early on the morning of the 14th we started on our return trip, and, riding around the head of Longstreet's column, reached Chattanooga without accident or delay by the night of the 17th. Dana sent two telegrams from Knoxville to Stanton, and three from Chattanooga, while I sent one to Grant, giving a full statement of the situation as we found it in east Tennessee. It was Dana's first meeting with Burnside, whom he

found to be a man of impressive appearance, but possessing a weak mind full of vagaries. After a long argument, in which we both participated, we succeeded in getting him to adopt the course which kept his army intact till after the victory of Missionary Ridge, when it was relieved of all danger by a strong detachment of Grant's army, under Sherman.

Grant's theory of the campaign in east Tennessee was that Burnside should hold fast to Knoxville, which was the centre of population and of railroads for the entire region, drawing supplies as far as possible from the surrounding country, and yet always operating in such manner as to imperil no part of his command. This it was not difficult to make Burnside understand as a matter of theory, but we found that he had already thrown a strong detachment forward to the Little Tennessee, up the valley of which the foraging was unusually good, and seemed determined to follow with his whole force. He had constructed a bridge across the Holston for that purpose, and appeared to think it would be a pity not to use it. As this movement would have left the road to Knoxville open to the advancing columns of the enemy, and might easily, in the presence of such a leader as Longstreet, have ended in the capture of Burnside and his whole force, we united in earnest remonstrance against the suggestion. It was in allusion to this foolish project that Dana, in his despatch of 12 M., November 18th, said:

"Parke argued against this idea in vain, but finally General Wilson overcame it by representing that Grant did not wish him to include the capture of his entire army among the elements of his plan of operations."

Dana's despatches, as published in the *Official Records*, will well repay the military student by the light they cast

upon the difficulty which is frequently encountered in controlling the operations of a widely separated but co-operating army or army corps.

The ride of something over three hundred miles to Knoxville and back had just enough danger and adventure in it to make it romantic. Camping at night, when we could, near outlying detachments of our own troops, or, when we must, at lonely farmsteads, gave us an insight into the manners and customs of the people. It was during this trip that we first saw the loyal east Tennesseean, and heard him declare that he had no sympathy with "the rich man's war and the poor man's fight." At the end of the first day's march we put up at an unusually comfortable farm-house, where we saw several good-looking young women and small children "dipping snuff," and apparently enjoying it. We were everywhere received with generous but unpretending hospitality. The best was placed freely at our disposal. Forage for our horses, with food and shelter for ourselves, were never denied, and it was often with difficulty that we could make our host take pay for it. In the latter part of our ride we had the company of Horace Maynard, a loyal citizen, who gave us much interesting information about the State and its people.

It was during this ride, perhaps the longest we ever took together, that Dana beguiled our journey with an almost continuous disquisition on history, romance, poetry, and practical life. His extraordinary memory for the great passages of both prose and poetry of all ages and all countries struck me at the time as phenomenal. His quotations were both apt and endless, and as they were delivered always in a pleasant voice and manner, and, when questioned, were followed by a prompt statement of the author, I found them most interesting and instructive. I did not know then that Dana had delivered a lecture on "Early English Poetry," nor that he had compiled *The Household*

Book of Poetry, but on learning those facts later, I frequently tested the accuracy of his memory by reading passages from his book and then asking who wrote them, and I cannot recall a single instance in which he did not answer correctly except where the author was marked "Anonymous." It is an interesting circumstance which surprised us both, that General Lawler, the plain, old-fashioned southern Illinois farmer whom Dana called "The High Dominie Dudgeon," made it one of his innocent boasts during the Vicksburg campaign, that no man in the army could repeat a line of standard English poetry of which he could not repeat the one preceding and the one following it. We never lost an opportunity to test the accuracy of that remarkable man's memory, and, greatly to our gratification, never failed to find it as good as he claimed it to be.

Before leaving this subject I should perhaps state that all through life Dana was a delightful conversationalist, who never seemed to forget anything he had ever read, but was at once able to call it to mind. Always cheerful, bright, and kindly himself, and taking an optimistic view of life, he treated its phenomena as a true philosopher, and commented upon the world's great men of every grade and nationality, not only without heat or prejudice, but with marked moderation and charity. Never, even in the midst of his most exciting controversies as a journalist, was he known, strange as it may seem, to speak a word of bitterness or contempt against his most deadly antagonist.

For the light it threw on Dana's own characteristics, this ride into east Tennessee was a memorable one. It was made still more so by the fact that we got back just in time to participate in the preliminary movements and the great battle of Missionary Ridge. Dana, of course, reported his return at once, and the next day received a gratifying reply in which Stanton rejoiced at his safety,

assured him of the great anxiety he had felt about him for several days, directed him not only to make his arrangements to remain in the field during the winter, but to continue his reports as frequently as possible, "always noting the hour."

Nothing could show better than these words the value attached by the President and the Secretary of War to Dana's despatches, unless it be one a few days later from Watson, who in the absence of Stanton was acting Secretary of War. After notifying him that the President was sick and the secretary absent, he added: "But both receive your despatches regularly, and esteem them highly, not merely because they are reliable, but for their clearness of narrative and their graphic pictures of the stirring events they describe. The patient endurance and spirited valor exhibited by commanders and men in the last great feat of arms, which has crowned our cause with such a glorious success, is making all of us hero-worshippers."

And what a splendid privilege it was that Dana enjoyed! With robust health, faculties acute and fully aroused, trusted by the generals with all their plans, passing rapidly from place to place, and participating in the councils and dangers as well as in the triumphs of the army, it was both his pleasure and his duty to know everything, see everything, and report everything just as it was to the anxious authorities who had sent him out as their representative. He was, indeed, a commissioner of the government, not vain, empty, and pretentious, like those sent out by the French government in the early days of the Revolution, but modest, wise, and tactful, and in every way worthy of the mission with which he was intrusted. From whatever point of view they are considered, it must be admitted that the ability and success with which he discharged his delicate but important duties are worthy of high praise. They afford an example for imitation in future wars, and

when properly studied and analyzed they should reveal a set of practices and principles which should form a valuable part of our future military system.

The account Dana gives in his despatches from day to day constitutes a contemporaneous statement of events just as they appeared at the time. And this is most important when considered in connection with history. Obviously it is almost impossible for a general in the midst of a battle to keep an accurate record of what takes place in the various parts of the field, but in view of the fact that there is besides an almost uncontrollable tendency in the military mind, when it comes to writing reports, to make it appear that every fortunate movement was specially ordered, and that the battle in its most brilliant parts was planned and the victory gained just as they were intended. In actual practice this is rarely the case, and the battle of Missionary Ridge is no exception to the rule.

The general plan of that battle, as was well known to us both and as reported by Dana at the time, was that Sherman's forces should advance from Bridgeport through Lookout Valley, and after crossing the river on the Brown's Ferry bridge, should continue their march behind the hills on the north side of the river to a point opposite the mouth of the Chickamauga and the north end of Missionary Ridge; that Smith should here, under cover of darkness, lay a pontoon bridge across the Tennessee, upon which at the appointed time Sherman's troops should cross to the south bank; that they should then advance against the enemy's right flank, and roll him up or drive him from his direct line of retreat; that Howard should move out from Chattanooga by the south side of the river, cross Citico Creek, and join in Sherman's movement, and that Thomas, holding the centre, should co-operate as circumstances might require, while Hooker should march from Lookout by the way of Rossville against the enemy's left flank.

As it actually turned out, Sherman's march was much delayed, and ended at the position assigned him a day late, owing to the fact that he made the mistake of encumbering his columns by the division wagon-trains. It also turned out that he halted, after recrossing to the south side of the river, to fortify, instead of proceeding at once to the attack, and that when he did attack, instead of carrying the enemy's flanking intrenchments, he was not only repulsed, but never succeeded in capturing them, or in actually turning or taking in reverse the enemy's line. In other words, an *impasse* took place from the first, and was never dissolved by any effort on the part of Sherman or Howard. It was thought at the time, and was afterwards claimed in the reports of both Sherman and Grant, that Sherman's movement had been met by a counter movement of many troops from other parts of the enemy's line, but a subsequent examination of the Confederate reports shows that Bragg, after Sherman made his lodgement on the south side of the river, drew no troops from his centre or left to strengthen his right. Dana fell into this error at the time as did the rest, but this did not affect his mind nor his report further than to relieve Sherman from blame for the repulse of his attacks from the first to the end of the action. No one can read the despatches without becoming convinced that Generals Grant and Thomas, as well as the staff-officers, including Dana, who were present with them on Orchard Knoll, thought on the second day of the battle that Bragg was moving troops to his right against Sherman, and it was to prevent an overwhelming concentration of the enemy on that flank that Grant first mildly suggested that the time had come, and an hour later positively ordered Thomas to make a diversion from his front in Sherman's favor by advancing his line against the enemy's rifle-pits at the foot of Missionary Ridge.

It should be remembered that all the marching and

skirmishing on the first day of the battle, November 23d, was for position, and that Dana, in his despatches of 7.30 P.M. of that day, said:

. . . "Grant has given orders for a vigorous attack at daybreak by Sherman on the left, and Granger [commanding a corps of Thomas's army] in the centre, and if Bragg does not withdraw the remainder of his troops, we shall have a decisive battle." . . .

It is to be specially noted that Sherman's attack was neither delivered on time nor was it successful, that it did not commence till after 9 A.M., and that Granger's was not delivered till after 4 P.M. It is also to be noted that Granger, instead of giving his attention to his corps, wasted his time in personally supervising the noisy but harmless service of a field-gun close to headquarters, greatly to the annoyance of Grant, and finally that this incident, trivial as it was, became the first step towards Granger's undoing. It convinced Grant that the "Marshal Ney of the Army," as Dana had styled him, was a trifler instead of a great soldier, and it was well known at the time to Rawlins and myself that it produced the same effect upon Dana. With these facts well in mind, it is easy to understand that part of Dana's despatch of November 26th—10 A.M., in which, referring to the final attack at the battle of Missionary Ridge, he says:

. . . "The storming of the Ridge by our troops was one of the greatest miracles in military history. No man that climbs the ascent by any of the roads that wind along its front can believe that eighteen thousand men were moved up its broken and crumbling face, unless it was his fortune to witness the deed. It seems as awful as the visible interposition of God. Neither Grant nor Thomas intended it. Their orders were to carry the rifle-pits along the base of the Ridge and capture their occupants, but when this was

accomplished, the unaccountable spirit of the troops bore them bodily up those impracticable steeps, over bristling rifle-pits on the crest, and thirty cannon enfilading every gully. The order to storm appears to have been given simultaneously by Generals Sheridan and Wood, because the men were not to be held back, dangerous as the attempt appeared to military prudence. Besides, the generals had caught the inspiration of the men, and were ready themselves to undertake impossibilities." . . .

As Dana was personally present with the generals in frequent conversations throughout the day, and finally rode with Grant and his staff to the top of the Ridge before the fighting was ended, there is every reason why this account should have contained the exact truth as it did. And yet Grant and Sherman, when they wrote their reports, stated in substance that the battle was fought just as it was planned, and was won just as it was intended. Both made the same contention in their memoirs, and always adhered to that view. They either failed to consult Dana's despatches to the Secretary of War, or deliberately ignored them in favor of their own misconceptions. It may be safely added that history, and especially military history, is far too frequently written in that way.

The military student will find a brief but accurate summary of the remainder of this campaign in Dana's despatches. He was personally present with General Grant in his visits to the various parts of the army up to November 29th, on which day he left Chattanooga again with me for Knoxville. I had been sent to act as chief engineer to the forces detached for the relief of Burnside. Grant had pushed Bragg back from Missionary Ridge towards Resaca and Atlanta, thus separating him hopelessly from Longstreet and rendering effective co-operation between them henceforth impossible. But Longstreet had shut Burnside up and was closely besieging him in Knoxville. The

emergency was a pressing one, and in designating Granger to command the relieving column, Grant instructed him to use all possible haste and energy. But Granger failing to move with celerity, Grant ordered Sherman, a day or two later, to take command of the relieving troops, and at the same time added enough to them to make the column irresistible. As operations had ceased elsewhere, Dana was, as usual, glad to go, and overtook Sherman at Charleston, on the Hiwassee River, two days from Chattanooga. Thenceforth we were constantly with the advance-guard, doing all in our power to hurry the march. Our route traversed Athens, Philadelphia, Morgantown, and Marysville, all the way through a beautiful country, well supplied with cattle and provisions. Long's cavalry reached Knoxville at 3 A.M., December 4th, but we were delayed till late the next afternoon. Meanwhile the enemy, after suffering a bloody repulse on the 29th, had raised the siege and marched away to the north the next day. He had, of course, been advised of Sherman's coming, but as the relieving march was necessarily slow, he had ample start to make it difficult, if not impossible, to overtake him.

In addition to taking an active part in all the operations, Dana, by his despatches, as usual kept the government informed as to the incidents of the march, the construction of the bridges, the movements of the various infantry corps and divisions, and the failure of Elliot's cavalry to move from Sparta through Kingston for the purpose of taking part in the campaign. He commented upon the expectations of General Frank P. Blair, as to the command of an army corps, called attention to the anger of Grant at Granger, declared, notwithstanding his previous commendation, that Granger was unfit to command, intimated that Sheridan ought to succeed him, and finally prepared the secretary's mind for the fact that the winter rains would probably put an end to further operations in that quarter.

The campaign having come to an untimely stop at Knoxville, Dana and I concluded to return to Chattanooga by the route we had just marched over, and on the way down had the company of Generals Blair and Schurz. As we travelled rapidly, Dana's horse gave out the second day, and as Longstreet's command had swept the country clear of everything fit for a remount, I asked Blair to let Dana have a led horse of his till another could be got, but this he churlishly declined to do. At the village of Philadelphia, a few miles in the rear, we had heard confidentially of a horse which had been concealed from the Confederates in a stall between a false wall and the rear end of the stable, and Dana proposed to go back for that, but the distance was too great. We therefore pushed on as best we could till we came to the camp of Colonel Hecker (president of the German Confederation of 1848). Here we discovered an excellent gray gelding running at large in a field near by, and, although strict orders had been issued to respect private property, at our request the colonel directed his men to catch the horse and bring it in, adding by way of explanation, with a suggestive twinkle of the eye, "It belongs to Herr Dana, the Assistant Secretary of War."

During this long but pleasant ride Dana and Schurz beguiled the journey with conversations in German and English, which gave each a high opinion of the other's skill in languages, as previously related.

Dana and I got back to Chattanooga on December 10th, and after conferences with Grant, not only about the campaign just finished, but about the next one which should be undertaken, Dana made arrangements to return to Washington for the purpose of laying Grant's views before the Secretary of War and the President more fully than could be done by letter. General Smith, who had been transferred early in the campaign to Grant's staff as chief engineer, and as such had exercised a decisive influence

in the formation of the plans which had proven so successful, also took an active part in the conferences in reference to the plans for the winter campaign. Rawlins and others gave their views, so that Dana, while carrying Grant's final decisions, was fully advised as to the opinions of all who might be supposed to have any influence in regard to their determination. The war was clearly over for the winter in east Tennessee and northern Georgia. The Confederate forces, notwithstanding their concentration and partial victory at Chickamauga, had been overwhelmingly defeated at Missionary Ridge and thwarted at Knoxville. Longstreet had begun his toilsome march back to Virginia. Dana, as has been seen, had exerted a tremendous influence upon the reorganization of the Army of the Cumberland, the establishment of the Military Division of the Mississippi, the assignment of Grant to the supreme command, and the concentration of an overwhelming force at Chattanooga. He had expressed himself freely in reference to the consolidation of corps and the assignment of generals to command. He had written frankly whenever necessary in regard to the personal behavior and habits of the leading officers, and while it may be said that his language in some cases seems severe, I can state, on my own knowledge, that in every instance what he said was fully warranted, and had a most beneficial effect not only upon the service, but upon the fortunes of the war. It resulted in the elimination of several conspicuous but inefficient or unfortunate major-generals, and in the reformation of another, of whose habits Thomas had complained, but who was really a first-class soldier, and finally became one of the most useful and distinguished division and corps commanders in the Western army.

XVIII

DANA IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT

Conferences with Lincoln and Stanton—Plan of campaign in Alabama—Letters to Wilson—Extraordinary capacity for work—Supervision of army contractors—Grant Lieutenant-General—Rawlins Chief of Staff—Estimate of Lincoln

DANA arrived at Washington about the middle of December. On the 19th he informed me that as yet he had seen no one in authority, and I reported the fact to General Grant, who had gone to Nashville on the 18th for the purpose of completing arrangements for pushing the campaign in east Tennessee. Rawlins had gone North to be married. On December 21, 1863, at 6 P.M., Dana telegraphed General Grant in substance that after a detailed explanation the President, the Secretary of War, and General Halleck had fully approved his project of a winter campaign in Alabama, not only because it would keep the army active during the rainy season, but because it appears to have been well conceived and certain of producing the desired effect. "If it succeeds," said the Secretary of War, "Bragg's army will become prisoners of war without our having the trouble of providing for them." The execution of this plan would have been authorized at once but for the anxiety which existed in reference to Longstreet's continued presence in east Tennessee. With him expelled from that region, Grant could start for Mobile at once. The difficulty seemed to have been that Halleck could not understand where an army was to be got large enough to make Longstreet's

dislodgement certain, or even to provide against his seizure of Knoxville, Cumberland Gap, or some other controlling point in our possession, while Grant might be operating with the bulk of his forces against Mobile. This view of the case was confirmed by a despatch from Halleck to Grant the next day. It fully justified the further suggestion contained in Dana's despatch that "the surest means of getting the rebels altogether out of east Tennessee is to be found in the Army of the Potomac." To this Halleck replied, "That is true, but from that army nothing is to be hoped under its present commander." This gave Dana the opportunity to present Grant's second proposition, which was that "either Sherman or W. F. Smith should be put in command of that army." Halleck's reply to this left but little doubt that Smith would be called to the place, and this was based upon the distinct declaration that, as long as a fortnight before Dana's return to Washington, both the Secretary of War and General Halleck "had come to the conclusion that when a change should be made General W. F. Smith would be the best person to try." While they entertained some doubts "respecting Smith's disposition and personal character," which Dana thought he had cleared up, they promised to promote him to the first vacancy in the list of major-generals, and all agreed with Grant "in thinking that it would be on the whole much better to select him than Sherman." Realizing how uncertain action was at that time in any given case, or in any given direction with the powers in Washington, Dana prudently closed his despatch with the following sentences:

. . . "As yet, however, nothing has been decided upon, and you will understand that I have somewhat exceeded my instructions from the Secretary of War in this communication, especially in the second branch of it, but it seems to me

necessary that you should know all these particulars. I leave for New York to-night to remain until after New Year's." [1]

This was one of the most interesting despatches Dana ever sent, for it not only shows that the President, the Secretary of War, the General-in-Chief, and General Grant were at that time in accord with reference to several of the leading generals and their employment, but that they all favored Grant's suggestion as submitted by Dana for a campaign against Mobile. This plan was originally brought forward by W. F. Smith, and as it promised to keep a great part of Grant's army usefully employed in cleaning up the Confederate forces and capturing the Confederate strongholds in the Middle South, it received Grant's entire approval. It is believed that this plan of operations contained the germ of the "March to the Sea," as it would cut that part of the Confederacy east of the Mississippi in two again, and, if followed by a vigorous campaign from central Alabama, would have taken Atlanta in the rear, compelled the abandonment of northern Georgia, and rendered the Chattanooga-Atlanta campaign of the next year unnecessary. It is important because it also shows, when taken with Halleck's despatch of the next day to Grant,[2] that Halleck would not permit Grant to carry out his plan for a campaign in Alabama till Longstreet was driven entirely from east Tennessee. As Longstreet was an able and very deliberate man, slow to move and hard to beat, he took his own time to get out of east Tennessee. Even then he retired only in the face of overwhelming numbers. Sherman and Thomas, who took no part in the campaign north of Knoxville, gathered their forces deliberately into a powerful army in front of Chattanooga.

[1] Dana to Grant, December 21, 1863—6 P.M.

[2] *Official Records*, Serial No. 56, p. 458, Halleck to Grant, December 21, 1863.

Dana was greatly disappointed at the outcome. He had great confidence in Grant's skill and energy, and felt that with the forces at his disposal he could have cleaned up Alabama in three months. But this was not to be. It will be remembered that Grant, instead, went to Knoxville, where he arrived on the last day of the year. After four days, which he spent in studying the situation and in giving detailed instructions for the campaign against Longstreet, he left for Nashville. The entire journey, which took seven days, was made on horseback from Moundsville, through Cumberland Gap, Barboursville, London, and Frankfort, to Lexington. The journey from Lexington through Louisville to Nashville was made by rail. Grant's headquarters were established at the last-mentioned place about the middle of January, 1864, and remained there till he was called East to take general command of all the National armies.

Immediately after the holidays Dana returned to the War Department, where he not only participated in the multifarious duties connected with the administration and maintenance of the army, but for the first time had an opportunity to observe and study the great secretary as he showed himself in the midst of his daily and nightly work. On January 11, 1864, he wrote to me from his desk in the department. Omitting purely personal passages, the letter runs as follows:

. . . "Yesterday I had the happiness of sending the general a despatch much more important because more decisive than that referred to in yours of the 24th. . . . The general is authorized to go ahead according to his own judgment.

"There are very great complaints here in the quartermaster-general's office respecting the impossibility of getting supplies for General Banks down the Mississippi. Coal, hay, horses--everything is seized at Memphis, Vicksburg, or Natchez. One cargo of one hundred and twenty-five horses arrived at

New Orleans with twenty-seven of the animals of which it was originally composed, all the others having been exchanged for worthless or broken-down creatures. The Secretary of War and general-in-chief having declined long since to interfere with General Grant in the form of orders, the quartermaster's department have resorted to the expensive plan of shipping supplies for Banks by way of the seaboard. Hay, for instance, has been bought for him in Illinois and sent by way of Baltimore to save it from the grip of Hurlbut. I believe, however, that General Halleck sent an order on the subject to General Sherman last week.

"I saw Porter the other day at his office, where he sits with Mr. Lyford on the other side of the same table. Porter wears a 'biled shirt' with great effect, and otherwise is spruce and handsome. He was not in uniform, and it seems to be the dodge at the ordnance office to dress *en pekin*.

. . . "About Porter's promotion—I made up my mind that no officer in the ordnance department could be promoted, except in his own branch of the service, as soon as I got here and studied the ground. They tell me that there are few ordnance officers, that every man of them is kept at work on important duty, and that all are indispensable. Besides, so I am told, none of them can pass the examination required for promotion unless he devote himself assiduously to learning his duty by a regular course of service alternately in field, bureau, and arsenal. This seems to be as fixed as the laws of the Medes and Persians, and I do not now see any way in which Porter can be extricated from the operation of the rule. He has himself renounced the idea, and contents himself, as well he may, with the fulness of conjugal bliss and the daily routine of clerical duty at his desk.

"Mrs. Rawlins I had no opportunity of seeing, but I hope she will add nothing but happiness to the life of her excellent husband. His appearance made me anew anxious about him. I fear that his lungs may be seriously affected. His loss would be a great misfortune, not only for his friends, but still more for the country. Public servants of his quality will always be few; and there are plenty of men whose names

will flourish largely in history without having rendered a tithe of his unostentatious and invaluable contribution to the great work of the nation.

"You ask about General Meigs. I will tell you as a secret, which you may tell General Grant and Rawlins, that the affairs under charge of that officer are in a condition of much disorder and frightful waste. He may yet prove an able commander in the field, but as an administrative officer he is a most expensive failure.

"You are aware, of course, that Steele with Arkansas has been added to the command of U. S. G. Stoneman has been sent to Steele. Stoneman is another expensive failure. He is not worth a continental. Out of twenty-four thousand cavalry horses bought here under his supervision, less than four thousand are reported as effective for service. This is a fact not to be repeated, but I tell it to you for the general, who may have to decide how or when to use him, or not to use him.

"I had a delightful fortnight in New York, and would have been glad to remain there a month longer. My family I found and left in good health, though not well pleased at my long absence. If I remain here, as I fear I may, they may possibly come here. . . .

. . . "It looks now as if A. L. would certainly be re-elected president. It is also probable that U. S. G. will be made lieutenant-general."

"The reform and revivification of the Army of the Potomac is a very slow and hard job. It depends on the President, and he is not easy to move. . . . I see no prospect of any legislation getting rid of useless generals. Each has friends, and these friends are loud and energetic.

"Please remember me affectionately to W. F. Smith and General Brannan."

One of the first matters of importance connected with the operation of the War Department to which Dana's attention was called by the secretary, was the unsatisfactory condition of the Cavalry Bureau, which had to do

with the organization, inspection, remount, and equipment of the mounted troops. It had been for several months under the charge of General Stoneman, who had been succeeded recently by General Garrard, both of whom were old and experienced officers, but much too deliberate to suit the impatient secretary. He could not wait a day, but decided to reorganize the bureau at once, and directed Dana to take the matter in hand. The latter thereupon suggested my detail for the work, and, in pursuance of the secretary's authority, issued the necessary orders directing me to report at the War Department for duty as soon as I could settle my business as a member of General Grant's staff. I was notified at the time that my new assignment would last till spring only. I arrived at Washington January 24th, and after taking charge of my office at once resumed my relations with Dana. We had rooms together, boarded at the same house, and were closely associated till the spring campaign of the Army of the Potomac began, when we both returned to the field, he to become again "the eyes of the government" at Grant's headquarters, and I to command a division of cavalry under Sheridan.

During our stay in Washington it was our custom to get to work at nine o'clock and close our desks at five o'clock. What business I had higher up was, as a rule, done through Dana, and this gave me the opportunity of seeing him frequently, and always at the close of the day, when it was our custom to go on horseback to the cavalry depot at Giesboro, or to ride about the defences and the suburbs of the city. I generally found him at his desk, and was greatly impressed by the rapidity with which he mastered each case, and put it in train for settlement. In the morning he always had a great pile of papers before him, and it was his rule to dispose of them before closing for the day. He worked like a skilful bricklayer. As

soon as one paper was disposed of, he took another in hand, and thus without losing a minute from hour to hour kept at his task till it was completed. Untiring, methodical, and possessed of an infallible memory, I have never met a man in any walk of life who concentrated himself more completely upon his work, or got through it with less friction or greater rapidity than he did. In this respect he was the admiration of the department. As he was uniformly self-contained and courteous, never impatient nor violent, every one, civilian and soldier alike, having business with any of the bureaus, took it by preference to him, and never by any chance to the secretary, if he could be avoided. Thus it will be seen that Dana was at once the breakwater and the channel to that imperious official; but with all Dana's suavity and skill, it will be readily perceived that his position was by no means an enviable one.

It was to this five months' tour of duty in the War Department, during the winter of 1863–64, that Dana was indebted for his intimate acquaintance with Stanton. Previously their meetings were casual, but now official business brought them daily and sometimes hourly in contact with each other. As the assistant secretary was always master over his own temper, and never overawed or confused by the furious outbursts which at times so sadly marred the secretary's behavior, these frequent meetings gave Dana an opportunity to study the character and idiosyncrasies of his chief under conditions which were open to but few others. Judged by his work, and the success which crowned it, it must be admitted that Stanton was one of the strongest and greatest men of his time, but Dana, not only that winter but afterwards, admitted that had the secretary known how to control his temper, and to act with common courtesy, he would have been a still greater man, and might well have been called upon

to succeed Andrew Johnson as president. In this respect Dana was vastly his superior, and there can be but little doubt, had occasion required it, that he could have filled the office of secretary with great advantage to the army as well as to the country at large. No civilian till the end of the war had been so constantly with the army, or had become so intimately acquainted with the active generals in the field as Dana had, and no one can read his despatches without perceiving that he had many qualities and much information which would have been most useful in the higher position.

Stanton was undoubtedly a true patriot and a great worker as well as a man of imperious will. The burden of administering the affairs of the army fell mainly upon his shoulders, and necessarily tried his temper as well as his strength. At times he was on the verge of collapse, and when it is considered that he had only two civil assistants, it can be well understood that he must have been frequently almost distracted.

It was the duty of Watson and Dana to supervise the contracts for horses, mules, wagons, harness, tents, clothing, camp equipage, arms, ammunition, drums, fifes, flags, and every other article used by the army. Fraud was everywhere rampant, and everywhere those engaged in it had their friends among the governors of the States, the members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives. Many of these gentlemen were almost as impatient and overbearing as the secretary himself, but fortunately most of them stood in wholesome awe of his authority, and gave him a wide berth in their effort to serve their friends.

It was my duty, as chief of the Cavalry Bureau, to supervise the contracts for cavalry arms, equipments, and remounts. For the first and second the Ordnance Bureau was mainly responsible, but the cavalry horses, of which

great numbers were needed, were purchased by a quartermaster assigned to the bureau. The inspections were, however, under the control of the purchasing quartermasters, many of whom were from civil life and without adequate experience, in consequence of which the quality of the horses had steadily declined, and many of those received were entirely unfit for service. This was the condition of affairs when I took charge of the bureau. Obviously, the first thing to do was to arrange for better inspections, and this was done by organizing a board of three inspectors for each horse-market, composed of two cavalry officers and one civilian, and issuing stringent orders for their guidance. Dana, who was himself a good horseman, took a lively interest in the details. The next thing was to notify all bidders that the horses furnished by them must conform to the specifications, and that under the law no contractor would be permitted to transfer his contract, but would be required to fill it in person.

Within a few days tenders for eleven thousand horses were opened and awarded to the various bidders according to law. The horses were to be delivered at St. Louis, Indianapolis, Columbus, St. Paul, Chicago, Elmira, Albany, and Giesboro, but the only contractor of the lot that complied with the requirements of the government was the one at St. Louis. Fortunately he had already furnished a thousand horses for which he had not been paid, and recognizing that these were good security, he loyally and honestly furnished twenty-five hundred head more in strict accordance with his tender. All the rest of the successful bidders, at one stage or another of the business, failed to furnish the horses which had been awarded to them. The law was at that time quite precise and severe in its provisions. The penalties prescribed were fine and imprisonment, but they had not hitherto been enforced. Dana had been kept carefully informed of every stage in

the business, and recognizing that an example must be made, when the last day of grace expired he put the machinery of the law in motion, and within twenty-four hours arrested each of the defaulters, and started him on the way to Washington for trial by a military commission. Seven contractors were caught and confined in military prison. Most of them were tried, convicted, fined, and sentenced to the penitentiary, where the worst of them were held till after the end of the war. Of course the proceedings were arbitrary and unusual, and were followed by a great outcry of the politicians high and low, but both Dana and the secretary stood firm; the law and the revised regulations were enforced to the letter, and although one case was afterwards carried to the Supreme Court, the new system was upheld in all its parts. The result was that the business of the bureau was put on a sound basis, the remounts purchased thereafter were good and serviceable, and although the prices paid soon adjusted themselves to the new standard, the measures resorted to were successful in putting an end to the frauds which had come to be the rule rather than the exception in that branch of army business.

But this was not the only case of the kind. Nearly every other branch of the army supply business was permeated by fraud, and what made it more difficult to deal with was the fact that some of the most competent and most energetic contractors were the most dishonest. Not content with a fair profit, they sought those contracts in which "the tricks of the trade" could be most easily practised, and their capital most rapidly turned over. In tents, a lighter cloth or a few inches off of the size; in harness, split leather; in saddles, inferior materials and workmanship; in shoes, paper soles; in clothing, shoddy; in mixed horse-feed, chaff and a larger proportion of the cheaper grain; in hay, straw and weeds; in fuel, inferior grades of

coal or wood, and so on, through the entire list, nearly every article presented its chance for sophistication and dishonest profit. Every contractor had to be watched, and when it is remembered that the quartermasters and inspectors were not always honest, but frequently stood in for a share of the profit, it will be readily understood that Dana's time, as well as that of the first assistant secretary, was constantly employed. A system of detection had to be organized and carried into effect, and the more successful it was the greater the outcry and the harder the pressure from the politicians. War governors, representatives, senators, and even the President himself were pressed into the service of the "best citizens" who were caught cheating the government; but withal Dana pursued the noiseless tenor of his way, sure always of Stanton's support, and that the interests of the army and of the country would be promoted by a rigid enforcement of the laws and the regulations in regard to army contracts.

On the whole this work was carried on with increasing success, so that long before the end of the war supplies of all classes were secured fully up to contract and specifications, and the wants of the army were filled with promptitude and liberality never surpassed in any country. This was by no means a pleasant or popular service. It was seldom if ever praised by the newspapers, but the men who managed it are certainly entitled to as much praise as those who faced the enemy in the field. The co-operation of all was necessary to success, and the work of Stanton and his assistants, it must be admitted, was not less necessary than that of the soldiers themselves.

During this winter Dana saw much of the leading men at Washington. As a trusted agent of the War Department, who had been through both the Vicksburg and Chattanooga campaigns, it was correctly assumed that he

must know all about Grant and his leading officers. The war in the East had come to a stand-still, and consequently a deep feeling of anxiety had taken possession not only of the administration, but of Congress and the country at large. As Dana wrote me shortly after his return from the West, the suggestion that Grant should be made a lieutenant-general, and placed in command of all our armies, was under consideration, and seemed to have taken hold of the public mind. The country had been eagerly seeking for some one to lead it to victory. It had hailed McClellan as the "Young Napoleon" and Halleck as the "Old Brains" of the army. It had had its "Fighting Joe," its respectable but incompetent Burnside, and its worthy but unsuccessful Meade. It had lavished its men and money without stint upon the Army of the Potomac, and that army had won a partial success at Antietam, and a still more substantial one at Gettysburg, but as yet it had not gained a complete victory. Lee and his veterans, with their "tattered uniforms and bright bayonets," still kept the field and barred the way to Richmond. So long as this continued to be the case, and the Confederacy remained unconquered and defiant, the constant question of the government was, necessarily: Where is the man who can finish the task before us? Grant was the only general that had so far made a clean job of his campaigns, and his name was naturally uppermost in the public mind, but there were many doubters, especially in the Army of the Potomac — many who thought that Grant's successes were due rather to good-fortune than to good management; many who contended that he had not yet fought either the best leaders or the best troops of the Confederacy, and many who openly expressed the fear that when he met Lee and his army he would prove unequal to the task before him.

The only member of either branch of Congress who

seemed confident that Grant was the man was E. B. Washburne, Republican member of Congress from the Galena district, but his advocacy was regarded as not entirely disinterested. Dana had corresponded with him in the early days of the antislavery movement, and also from Cairo, and now found himself at the same boarding-house with him. Eliot, of Massachusetts, and Sedgwick, of New York, were also there, and this constituted a coterie with whom Dana was in constant communication. The movement spread from them to others. The Secretary of War himself was won over, and finally the President, but withal it did not spread like wildfire. Many senators and representatives sought out Dana, and plied him with questions about Grant's habits, his character, and his fitness for command. I was present at many of the interviews, and assisted as fully as I could in helping on the measure, which slowly but surely gained headway, and was finally adopted. Washburne's earnestness and force gradually swept aside all opposition in the House, while Dana's advocacy, although less vehement, was regarded not only as far better informed but much more disinterested. It was particularly effective with the cabinet and the Senate. Curiously enough, there is reason to believe that the question of Grant's political ambitions was an important factor in the settlement of the case. It is known that shortly after the Vicksburg campaign Lincoln sent for his old friend Russell Jones, of Galena, then United States marshal at Chicago, afterwards minister at Brussels, and asked him if "that man Grant" wanted to be president. Fortunately Jones was able, from information received in a late personal interview, to give the most positive and satisfactory assurances on that point. But with the Chattanooga campaign added to his credit, the question now came up again, and fortunately Dana felt fully justified in saying that Grant's only ambition was to help put

down the Rebellion, and that he was not only not a candidate for the presidency, but was in favor of Lincoln's re-election to that great office when the time came around.

How much influence the information and assurances given by Washburne, Jones, and Dana may have exerted upon Lincoln, Stanton, and the Congress in the final determination of the matter can never be precisely known, but that they were important if not controlling factors there can be no doubt. While each of them knew all of Grant's weak points, as well as his strong ones, all felt confident that he could be trusted hereafter as heretofore, and would prove equal to the great task before him, either with or without the rank of lieutenant-general. They had all been as close to Grant as any one else except Rawlins, and as they knew the latter had absolute confidence in him, they exerted themselves to their utmost in his behalf, and fortunately for the country never had the slightest cause to regret it.

It should be remembered that a new office was created for Rawlins as well as for Grant. Hitherto he had been only Grant's adjutant-general, with the incidental duties of chief of staff, but henceforth he was to have that title by law, and while he never laid claim to the technical knowledge of a Berthier or a Jomini, it is conceded by all who knew him that he had a breadth of view and a force of character which, through his personal relations with his chief, made him far more important than any purely professional chief of staff could ever have been. In short, Rawlins was regarded as one with Grant—as an essential part of his great chief—and this fact was never lost sight of for a minute by the men who were at that time in actual charge of the government and were all-powerful in legislation. It was but natural that Dana, who had been designated "the eyes of the government," should have seen more and come to know more about Grant and his surroundings than any

other civilian at Washington. It was but natural, therefore, that he should have had a greater influence with the men inside of the government, with whom he was on the closest terms, than any one else. While it is not known that he ever made any claim on this account, and indeed was entitled to no especial reward for doing what he conceived to be his duty, one cannot suppress the reflection that it all might have turned out quite differently had Washburne or he taken another course. The world readily adjusts itself to accomplished facts, and takes but little account of what might have been the result had this or that man taken a different course at this or that crisis, but it is at least interesting to note that Dana, although filling a subordinate position, had many opportunities to exert upon those highest in authority whatever influence was due to the information he had gathered, and was fortunate enough throughout the great conflict to exert it always for the advancement of the public interests. He seems never to have asked for anything personal, but to have considered himself amply repaid for his services in Washington and in the field by the consideration he received from the great characters with which they brought him in contact, rather than by the pay he got or the rewards bestowed upon him.

It was a never-ceasing source of satisfaction to Dana that his residence in Washington brought him constantly in contact with the President and his cabinet. This is abundantly shown in his masterly sketch of Lincoln,[1] whom he regarded as a very great man, full of gentle kindness and amiable sincerity, treating his cabinet, several of whom were men of extraordinary force and self-assertion, with unvarying candor and respect, and yet never failing to impress them one and all with the fact "that he was the

[1] See Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*, p. 171 *et seq.*

master and they the subordinates." When he yielded to them, it was because they convinced him that they were right — never because he wished to avoid responsibility. In their judgment much was imperfect in the administration. They were frequently impatient with the President, but he was never so with them. Calm, equable, and uncomplaining, he was always considerate, pleasant, and cordial. He was never in a hurry, and never tried to hurry any one else. In every discussion, even in every joke, he showed the profoundest thought and the most matured wisdom. It was his word that went at last, and his decision that closed every argument. His authority, his reserve force, and his gigantic frame were most impressive. There was nothing flabby or feeble about him. With tremendous powers of endurance, he worked every day, and every night when necessary, as though he had done nothing the day before. With a smile as engaging as that of a woman, there was such a charm and beauty about his expression, such good-humor and friendly spirit looking from his eyes, that you never thought whether he was awkward or graceful; you thought of nothing except what a kindly character this man has—how benevolence and benignity were combined in his appearance—how intelligence and goodness were combined in his character. You felt that here was a man who saw through things, who understood things, and was entitled to your respect accordingly.

This is in substance Dana's estimate of Lincoln as a president and as a man, but, high as it is, he thought him still higher as a politician. Indeed, he regarded him as easily the first American in that class, and mainly because he had an extraordinary knowledge of human nature. He appears to have taken Dana into his inmost confidence in such matters during the earlier months of 1864, and to have consulted him fully about the amendment to the

Constitution to legalize the abolition of slavery, about the admission of Nevada as a State, and generally about where to get the necessary votes in Congress to carry through the various policies of his administration. It was a matter of prime importance that the leading newspapers should give him their support, that Greeley and Bennett especially should not oppose his measures; and to this end he frequently consulted Dana, who was a newspaper man himself, and knew them well. In his capacity to control men, or to neutralize their opposition, Lincoln was without a rival, and made no mistakes. The unerring judgment, and the consummate patience with which he acted when the time arrived, constituted a quality which, so far as Dana knew, had not been exhibited to a higher degree by any other man in history, and which proved him to have been intellectually one of the greatest of rulers.

Another interesting fact which Dana was among the first to mention was that Lincoln had finally developed into a great military man—that is, into a man of supreme military judgment. This conclusion he supported by the following statement:

. . . "I do not risk anything in saying that if one will study the records of the war . . . and the writings relating to it, he will agree with me that the greatest general we had, greater than Grant or Thomas, was Abraham Lincoln. It was not so at the beginning; but after three or four years of constant practice in the science and art of war, he arrived at this extraordinary knowledge of it, so that Von Moltke was not a better general or an abler planner or expounder of a campaign than President Lincoln. To sum it up, he was a born leader of men. He knew human nature; he knew what chord to strike, and was never afraid to strike when he believed that the time had arrived."[1]

[1] Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*, p. 181.

XIX

GRANT'S OVERLAND CAMPAIGN AGAINST RICHMOND

Army of the Potomac crosses the Rappahannock—Battles in the Wilderness—Dana at scene of action—Despatches to Stanton—Advance to Cold Harbor—Abortive battles—Crosses Chickahominy—South of the James—Counter-movement against Washington

THE winter and spring of 1864, in Washington, constituted a most interesting period. While the Confederacy had received its death-blows at Vicksburg, Gettysburg, and Missionary Ridge, the Mississippi had been opened and the Union army had established its sway over vast areas of the border States. Lincoln, although greatly encouraged, was far from happy. His re-election was near at hand, but by no means conceded. Many strong men, both in Congress and out of it, thought that he should step aside and allow a stronger one to take his place. His own cabinet contained two candidates, the Senate several, and the army one at least. The Democratic party had pronounced the war a failure, and so long as Lee remained unvanquished there was a show of reason in their contention. It was absolutely essential that Lee should be beaten and that the Confederacy should be overthrown, and to that end every resource of the government was placed at the disposal of Grant. The forward movement in Virginia began on May 4th, with an effective force of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and only two days after that the desire of both Stanton and Lincoln for the fullest details of the marches and battles became irresistible. Grant,

who was habitually reticent, had no time for details, and hence they sent for Dana, who was found at a reception, but who made haste to present himself, although in evening clothes. They told him they had been in the dark since the army began its movement, were greatly troubled, and had concluded to send him to the front again. They naturally asked him how soon he could start, and were correspondingly gratified when he replied, in half an hour. A special train and a cavalry escort were prepared while he was changing his clothes, but the dangerous project still weighed heavily on the President's mind, and although the night was well advanced he sent for Dana again. They went over the subject more fully, but it was not till the kind-hearted President was assured that both Dana and his escort were equipped for running away, if they found themselves confronted by a party which they could not fight successfully, that he dismissed them with, "Good-night, and God bless you!" At seven o'clock on the morning of May 7th they reached the Rappahannock, where they had breakfast. The same afternoon Dana reported to Grant at Piney Branch Church, and notwithstanding the heavy fighting of May 5th and 6th, in the almost impenetrable jungles of the Wilderness, he found the army moving slowly but successfully towards Spottsylvania Court-House.

This of itself was a momentous fact, which he reported at once to Washington. Hitherto the Army of the Potomac, which now constituted Grant's main command and principal dependence, had not fought its battles through. It had had ample time to rest and recruit, and had been heavily reinforced. Its cavalry had been reorganized and placed under Sheridan. Its material and transportation were in good condition, and everything seemed to favor success. The plan for an advance by the left was fairly under way, but unfortunately the movements of the infantry columns were not rapid enough to carry them through the Wilder-

ness to the open country beyond, before Lee had sallied out and boldly brought them to bay. The situation was one of great peril. Under similar circumstances the Army of the Potomac had twice before given up its advance and recrossed the Rappahannock. On the night of the 6th the question arose in the minds of many as to whether it would not do so again. Grant had met Lee and had fought him two days without gaining a substantial victory. Would he fight him again, or would he retreat? For two hours — indeed, for all that night — the fate of Grant and of the great army under his command seemed hanging in the balance; but fortunately the lieutenant-general's courage proved to be equal to the great emergency, and with the determination to fight it out on that line if it took all summer, he pressed forward on the road to Richmond.

At this juncture Dana arrived on the scene of action, and was soon familiar with all that had taken place, and, what was better, was soon doing all in his power to support and encourage the forward movement. And the value of support and encouragement at this juncture will be better understood when the fact is recalled that there were only two generals and three staff-officers in all that army that had ever been in campaign or battle with Grant; that he was surrounded by strangers who, to say the least, were generally doubtful of his capacity to lead them successfully against Lee and his hitherto invincible veterans.

I found Dana at Grant's headquarters soon after his arrival, and from that time forth, whenever I could go to headquarters, or it was not too dangerous for him to come to me, we met frequently. He was in fine spirits, and from the day of his arrival he was, as of old, on terms of the closest intimacy with Grant and his staff. All were glad to see him and to assist him in getting the facts as they occurred. His despatches were sent daily, and even

hourly when necessary, and were based upon his own observations as well as upon official information as it came to headquarters. They covered every detail of interest; but as the generals commanding the various corps and divisions were men of experience and approved ability, and as the organization of the army itself had been controlled by Grant and was in every way satisfactory to him, Dana had but little occasion to comment upon the leading officers. All of Dana's despatches, something over seventy in number, are set forth in the *Official Records* just as they were sent. Whenever necessary for the purposes of this narrative, I have quoted from them, but much the larger part of what I have said is drawn from other sources. In the third one of the series he reports the occupation of Spottsylvania Court-House by the cavalry; the arrival of Longstreet at that place with two divisions of infantry that had marched all night; Grant's order for Warren to attack them with the support of Sedgwick; the death of Sedgwick, and the failure of these two corps to attack as ordered. He also reported Grant's orders to detach Sheridan with the cavalry corps, to operate against Lee's communications, and, after doing all possible damage, to march to the James River and communicate with Butler. This was followed by the statement that "General Hobart Ward is under arrest for running away" from the battle in the Wilderness, and that General H. G. Wright had succeeded to the command of Sedgwick's corps.

The next sixteen despatches, from the 10th to the 18th inclusive, relate to battles for the possession of Spottsylvania Court-House. They describe in sufficient detail the operations of Hancock's corps on the right in the neighborhood of Corbin's Bridge; the departure of Sheridan

[1] Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*, p. 189 *et seq.*

with the cavalry, leaving the army with an effective strength of only ninety-four thousand men; Upton's successful assault of the enemy's works with twelve regiments; the failure to support his movement; the transfer of Hancock's corps from the extreme right to a position between Wright and Burnside; his impetuous and successful assault of the enemy's works, and his capture of two generals, with eighteen cannon and many prisoners; the dissatisfaction of Grant and Meade with Warren; the night transfer of Warren and Wright to the left; the rumors of Lee's retirement; the prevalence of rain; the fatigue of the army; the second successful assault by the intrepid Upton; the massing of the army in compact formation to cover Fredericksburg, and to resist counter-attack; the continuance of rainy weather and bad roads; the concentration of Lee's army around the Court-House, covering the road from Fredericksburg to Richmond; the withdrawal of Lee's trains to Guiney's Station; a full statement of the killed, wounded, and missing, amounting on May 16th to a grand total of 36,872; the arrival of the first reinforcements; another order "to attack at daylight," which was not obeyed; an order for a further decisive movement towards the left; a sudden but unsuccessful return to the right; the gallantry of the new heavy artillery troops; and finally the success of the turning movement which compelled the enemy to withdraw towards Richmond, and enabled Grant to advance to Guiney's Station.

From this place to Cold Harbor the operations of the contending armies were minutely described, but as they consisted mainly of turning movements to the left across the intervening rivers, in which Grant showed great resolution and persistency, and the prompt and unerring precision with which Lee interposed his army between him and Richmond, I need not analyze them day by day. They make it clear that Lee carefully avoided giving

battle in the open, and that his army thenceforth fought mostly behind breastworks, while on the other hand Grant and his generals were becoming more and more cautious, and their men were more and more reluctant to attack the enemy when covered by intrenchments.

By May 20th Sheridan with his cavalry had regained touch with the army, and thenceforth, till he was again detached, contributed greatly to the success of Grant's effective manœuvres. Both officers and men approved their wisdom, and greatly preferred them to the "smash-'em-up" policy which, unfortunately, again became the cry a few days later.

On the 26th Dana, after giving a detailed account of the day's operations, closed his despatch with these significant words:

. . . "One of the most important results of the campaign thus far is the entire change which has taken place in the feelings of the armies. The rebels have lost all confidence, and are already morally defeated. This army has learned to believe that it is sure of victory. Even our officers have ceased to regard Lee as an invincible military genius. On part of the rebels this change is evinced not only by their not attacking even when circumstances seem to invite it, but by the unanimous statement of prisoners taken from them. Rely upon it, the end is near as well as sure."

A few days later he chronicled the success of the cavalry operations in aid of the flanking movement which carried the army, without accident or delay, to Hawe's Shop south of the Pamunkey. After giving a full account of the various operations, he emphasized the fact that our officers and men were "in high spirits at the successful execution of this last long and difficult flank movement," that Grant himself, feeling doubtful of its success, had feared for a while that he might be obliged to go to the White House

to make his crossing certain, that he meant to fight in that neighborhood "if he had a fair chance," without running "his head against heavy works," and that at any rate he would remain there over the next day to give time for the cavalry to break up the railroads and destroy the bridges over Little River and the South Anna.

Notwithstanding the heavy fighting which began on May 30th, Dana took time, at Grant's special request, to call the Secretary of War's attention to the fact that at New Orleans, and perhaps elsewhere, a custom had grown up of paying commutation for fuel and quarters to officers lodged in the houses of rebels, and recommending that a general order should be issued prohibiting the practice everywhere within the limits of the rebellious States. In the same despatch Dana called attention to the serious mismanagement of all the administrative departments of the Ninth army corps: that the men were without rations and the animals without forage, that the artillery horses had not had their harness taken off for nine days, that their shoulders and backs were sore, and that a thousand new horses were wanted immediately to supply the waste. He closed his despatch with the statement that this lamentable condition of affairs was known to Grant, and ought to be known to the War Department also.

On May 31st he noted the fact that the enemy was holding fast on the Cold Harbor road, that the cavalry could not finish the destruction of the railroad and bridges and rejoin "before to-morrow night," that Smith, with reinforcements from Butler's army, was delayed at New Castle, and had been directed not to begin his march towards Cold Harbor till he had everything ready.

On June 1st Dana reported that Sheridan, after heavy fighting, had made good his hold on Cold Harbor; that if Wright had been there to support him, they might have

dispersed Lee's army; that both Grant and Meade were intensely disgusted with the failure of Wright and Warren; and finally that "Meade says a radical change must be made, no matter how unpleasant it may be to make it, but I doubt whether he will really attempt to apply so extreme a remedy."

This despatch, dated 5 P.M., praised Sheridan "as a general who obeys orders without excessive reconnoitring." This was followed by the announcement that he was engaged in a new turning movement around Lee's right flank and against his rear, and closes with the significant statement that

> . . . "General Grant's present design is to crowd the rebel army south of the Chickahominy; then he means to destroy both of the railroads up to the North Anna before he moves from here; besides, he wishes to keep the enemy so engaged here that he can detach no troops to interfere with the operations of Hunter." [1]

In pursuance of the policy of crowding Lee south of the Chickahominy, Dana's later despatches of the same evening, aided by those of the next day, show that while Sheridan's orders did not reach him in time to enable him to perform the part assigned to him, Wright, Smith, Warren, and Hancock had all been engaged and had suffered heavy loss; and that notwithstanding each of these generals claimed to have gained substantial advantage, Lee still held fast to the battle-field. Fierce and determined fighting, in which the enemy sallied from his cover, followed after nightfall, but without changing the general result. Grant remained unshaken, and, notwithstanding his heavy losses, ordered a renewal of the attack to be made early the next morning. It will not be forgotten that he had indicated his disposition only a few days be-

[1] Then marching against Lynchburg.

fore not "to run his head against heavy works," if it could be avoided. Dana's despatches throw but little light upon the abandonment of this policy, and yet it is certain that it had not escaped his observation. He records the fact that the order to attack on the morning of the 2d had not been carried into effect, and that Grant, at 2 P.M., had postponed it on account of heat and dust and the fatigue of Hancock's men till 4 A.M. the next day.

Dana gives a full account of the fighting on the 3d, but it was all costly and abortive. The order of battle from left to right was Hancock, Wright, Smith, Warren (in single line), with Burnside massed in rear of his right wing. Sheridan with two divisions of cavalry was on the extreme left, while Wilson with one division was well beyond and behind the enemy on the extreme right; but there was no coherence or co-operation between the various parts of the extended line. Indeed, singular as it may seem, none was provided for in the order of battle, and but little was possible. The fighting was desultory and hopeless from the first. According to Dana:

. . . "At noon we had fully developed the rebel lines, and could see what was necessary to get through them. Hancock reported that in his front it could not be done. Wright was decidedly of opinion that a lodgement could be made in his front, but it would be difficult to make much by it, unless Hancock and Smith could also advance. Smith thought he could carry the work before him, but was not sanguine. Burnside also thought he could get through, but Warren, who was nearest him, did not seem to share this opinion. In this state of things General Grant ordered the attack to be suspended. . . . The weather is cool and pleasant. Showers have laid the dust."

It was on the third day that many of the disheartened soldiers wrote their names upon strips of paper and pinned

them to their coats for the identification of their bodies in case of death. It was this series of disjointed, disconnected, and unsupported attacks, extending over three days and several miles of front, which Smith afterwards characterized as "murderous." Knowing that Grant had, from the first, left the details of carrying his orders into effect to Meade and his corps commanders, he held that officer primarily responsible for the useless loss of life, and criticised his generalship in unmeasured terms. It was in allusion to these attacks, and the absence of any provision whatever to make them successful, or even to take advantage of such success as chance might give to them, that the young but experienced Upton frankly confessed that there was no position in connection with that army to which he did not aspire.[1] It was in connection with the costly series of battles from the Pamunkey to the Chickahominy that the newspapers now joined in the flood of criticism, which, for the first time, was concentrated upon Grant rather than upon Meade.

To those who took part in the campaign, it at once became a question of absorbing interest as to who was responsible for it all. After having attacked Lee's left flank in rear, I closed in upon the infantry, and for the first time in ten days found myself within reach of Grant's headquarters. Dana made his way to my bivouac on the evening of June 4th, and after dining with me on coffee, hardtack, roasted wheat, and fried bacon, told me the story of the marches and battles as he had learned it from personal observation. On the 7th, after conference with Grant, Meade, and Humphreys, I had conversations with Rawlins, Dana, Comstock, Porter, and Babcock, during which each gave me interesting details of what had taken place. On the afternoon of the 8th Dana and Rawlins

[1] *Life and Letters of Major-General Emory Upton.* D. Appleton & Co.

came to my camp near Long Bridge and remained to dinner, during which they took me completely into their confidence. They not only told me the story of the marches and battles substantially as I have condensed it above, but they did more: they gave me their innermost views of the campaign, its successes and its failures, concealing nothing and extenuating nothing. During this conversation they made it known to me, substantially as set forth in Dana's despatch of June 4th—7 P.M., that our infantry had begun regular siege approaches to the rebel works; that Sheridan had been ordered to destroy the railroad from Richmond through Gordonsville to Lynchburg, as an indispensable element in Grant's plan; that Grant expected before reaching the Chickahominy to have crushed Lee's army by fair fighting and completed this work; that before moving further in accomplishing the great object of the campaign the work of destruction must be finished; and finally that, if Sheridan failed in it, the whole army would swing around for that purpose, even if it should be necessary to temporarily abandon its communications with the White House. They commented with approval on the flanking movements which had brought the army from Spottsylvania to Cold Harbor with comparatively little loss. They heartily favored its continuance, and as heartily condemned "the insane policy of butting into intrenchments." They lamented the bloody experiences of Cold Harbor, and explained that the change of policy which had there shown itself with such distressing results was due to the personal influence of an engineer who had come from the West with Grant and enjoyed his highest confidence. It was this officer to whom Rawlins attributed the cry of "Smash 'em up! Smash 'em up!" They explained that it embodied the pernicious idea which had taken possession of Grant and done all the mischief. When I expressed surprise that Rawlins had not prevented

its adoption, they called attention to the fact that the lieutenant-general's working staff was now composed mainly of regulars, of but recent acquaintance with Grant and but little experience with troops, and that, while they had perhaps not intended it, they had supplanted Rawlins in the dominating influence which he had hitherto exercised with his chief. The criticisms to which I have alluded had not yet become known to the army. Smith gave me his views, a few days later, in a letter which, with his permission, I sent to Dana to be used as he thought best, but both Dana and Rawlins were powerless. There was no one to whom they could appeal as against Grant, who was now in supreme command, by their concurrence, and this satisfactorily accounts for the fact that no mention of these criticisms is to be found in Dana's despatches. Their only course, with all the help they could get, was to exert their influence directly upon Grant himself as opportunity offered. What they or others may have said after that to Grant I have no means of knowing, but it is certain that Rawlins remained at his post to the end, never changing nor concealing his opinions, and never failing to condemn the policy of "Smash 'em up" when he had a proper opportunity. It is also certain that Grant at once resumed his sounder practice of resorting to turning movements, and never afterwards butted into intrenchments when it could be avoided. Whether this decision was due to his own reflections and good judgment, or to the weight of criticism and influence to which he had been subjected, must forever remain an unsettled question.

Fortunately for the country, Grant was not a general to remain long idle or in doubt. On June 7th Dana reported, with many other details, that Sheridan had set out at 3 A.M. to destroy the railroads north and west of Richmond; that Grant "is now nearly ready to strike for the James." Later the same day he reported that

"Crittenden had asked to be relieved because his division is not equal to his rank"; that certain transports were not clean enough for wounded soldiers; and that one of them was serving "beef to wounded soldiers so fat and gristly that even the well could not eat it."

On June 8th, at 4 P.M., Dana reported to Stanton, among other things, that two divisions of Warren's corps had taken position to the left of Hancock near Bottom's Bridge; that two officers of Grant's staff were with Butler, "making preparatory arrangements for the movement of this army to Bermuda Hundred, and that —possibly the march may begin to-morrow night."

From the same despatch it appears that the correspondent of a Cincinnati newspaper had given currency to the report that General Meade, after the battle of the Wilderness, had favored the withdrawal of the army to the north side of the Rappahannock, and that Grant had prevented it. It also appears that Meade, incensed by this report, had that day caused the provost-guard to arrest the offender, and, after parading him through the camps with large placards on his breast and back inscribed "Libeller of the Press," had expelled him from the lines.

On June 9th Dana reported the army as still at Cold Harbor, working under General Barnard's direction at a line of inner intrenchments to cover its withdrawal, which would probably take place the next night; that Meade was much troubled at the report that after the battle of the Wilderness he had counselled retreat; that this report was "entirely untrue," and that Meade had not shown any weakness of that sort, nor had he once intimated a doubt as to the successful issue of the campaign. As this despatch was sent with Grant's knowledge and approval, it gave great comfort to both Meade and the administration at the time, and should have put the discreditable rumor to rest forever.

Dana's despatches show that he remained at Cold Harbor till the afternoon of June 12th with Grant; that the long halt of the army was at an end, and that the great movement by the left, apparently against Richmond, but really to cross the James River at Bermuda Hundred, was to begin that night. His last act before breaking camp that afternoon was to call the attention of the Secretary of War to the misconduct of Generals Ward, Owen, and Eustis, and to the fact that General Grant desired General Slocum, who was making war against a den of thieves at Vicksburg, should be left in command at that place. His first act after getting into camp that night four miles beyond Long Bridge was to report "everything going on perfectly; . . . troops moving rapidly; . . . weather splendid."

During the entire day of June 13th Dana appears to have been engaged in riding from point to point, for the purpose of watching and reporting the movement of the army by the left flank towards Fort Powhatan on the James. The next day he crossed the James to Butler's headquarters at Bermuda Hundred, and the day afterwards went to City Point. His despatches for that period cover all the important operations in that field, and show that "All goes on like a miracle"; that "the weather is cloudy, threatening rain, but I think we shall get everything out of the Chickahominy bottom upon the highlands along the James River before any trouble from that source." Singularly enough, he added, "We know nothing of Lee's movements. He has not yet sent troops to Petersburg." He reports later that Smith was to have attacked the last-named place at daylight on the 15th, that at 4 P.M. he had carried a line of intrenchments, and that at 7.20 P.M. he assaulted and carried "the principal line" before Petersburg. In the same despatch he tells us that he had ridden over the conquered lines with Grant, and found them to be "more difficult even to take than was

Missionary Ridge"; that none of Lee's army had reached Petersburg when Smith stormed it, but that they seemed to be there the morning afterwards, making arrangements to hold the west side of the Appomattox. He commends the pontoon-bridge built by Major Duane, nearly seven hundred yards long, as "of the most admirable solidity."

By the 19th it became evident that Smith's work was incomplete, and that the enemy had constructed an inner line covering Petersburg, which he meant to hold if possible. According to Dana, it was to meet this condition of affairs that Grant again ordered a general assault, which was, as usual, unsuccessful; that the fighting "had not been equal to our previous fighting, owing to our heavy loss in superior officers"; that Grant, who was responsible for the first day's fighting, while Meade had ordered that of the second and third days, had finally declared "that no more assaults should be made, and that he would now manœuvre." It also appeared that Sheridan's attempt to destroy the railroads north of Richmond had not been entirely successful, and that Ewell's corps had gone to Lynchburg. In his despatch of June 20th Dana says, "Meade is ordered to devote himself to swinging his army around upon the south and southwest of Petersburg," with the view of cutting both the Weldon and Lynchburg railroads, and resting his left flank on the Appomattox. He adds:

> . . . As the object is to get possession of the railroad and enclose the enemy, fighting will not be sought for, though of course it will not be avoided. Once extended to the Appomattox, the railroad will be thoroughly destroyed as far south as practicable, then, if necessary, the Army of the Potomac may . . . move upon the Danville road, leaving its base of supplies here to be guarded by its fortifications and the forces of General Butler."[1]

[1] *Official Records*, Dana to Stanton, July 20, 1864—5 P.M.

This statement, it will be observed, is most important, as it clearly shows that Grant's plan on that day was to break up the Confederate railroads, and force his way by the left flank to the Appomattox River. It is a noteworthy fact that this remained his general plan to the end, and that Lee, for nearly ten months, or till his right flank was finally turned, beaten, and driven back at Five Forks, succeeded in defeating every movement and combination to carry it into effect.

Lee's detachment of Ewell, also mentioned for the first time in that despatch, was an event of the greatest importance, for it not only put the seal to the defeat of Hunter at Lynchburg, but notified the government of a series of bold and energetic counter-movements down the valley of the Shenandoah against Washington, which were destined to completely paralyze Grant's aggressive plans, and compel the principal army under his command to maintain a defensive attitude till the following spring.

This was one of the most interesting epochs in the history of the war. It gave rise to several misunderstandings and controversies, the most important of which was between Generals Butler and W. F. Smith. Dana's despatches throw light upon them all. Having been written in the midst of the events which they describe, they are of unusual value to the historian, and will be more fully referred to in the next chapter.

XX

CONFEDERATE OPERATIONS IN NORTHERN VIRGINIA

Dana returns to Washington—Generals Smith and Butler—Defensive attitude in front of Petersburg—Despatches to Grant—Services to Grant and the army

On June 21, 1864, the President and a small party, including the Secretary of War, arrived at City Point on a short visit to General Grant and the army. Dana joined them at once, and when the visit was ended accompanied them to Washington for a few days. As both the President and Secretary of War "were anxious to have his daily reports of the operations around Petersburg," he made haste to return, arriving at headquarters on July 1st. Here he found a condition of affairs far from encouraging. Instead of waiting for Sheridan's return from his movement against the railroads north of Richmond, Grant sent the rest of his cavalry straight out into the Confederacy to break up those leading west and south from Petersburg. Meade had tried to extend his left to cover the highways and railroads, but had failed and settled down supinely on the defensive. He was now engaged in quarrelling with Warren, but would probably settle the matter at issue without proceeding to the extreme remedy of relieving him. Butler was "pretty deep in controversial correspondence with Baldy Smith, in which it will be noted that Grant says, "Butler was clearly in the wrong." Rumors had just come in that the movement against the Danville and Southside railroads had

come to grief, while Sheridan had stopped north of the James River to rest. To make matters worse, Grant was losing confidence in Meade, who had the reputation of being ill-tempered towards his subordinates, and was becoming unpopular with them. He had besides begun to show signs of impatience and discouragement. It had come to be almost a habit with him to ask, "When is Grant going to take Richmond?" His position was doubtless embarrassing; he had but little independent authority, but was expected to receive orders and arrange all the details for their execution, while others would necessarily get most of the credit. The staff arrangements could not well be worse; the organization of the forces was fatal to close and efficient co-operation. While Grant, as generalissimo, had full power, and was primarily responsible, he was disposed to place much of the blame for the inconclusive results on Meade, and by July 7th seriously thought of relieving him from command. This is shown by Dana's despatch of 8 A.M. that day, stating that

"A change in the commander of the Army of the Potomac now seems probable. . . . Grant seems to be coming to the conviction that Meade must be relieved. The facts in the matter have come very slowly to my knowledge, and it was not until yesterday that I became certain of some of the most important. I have long known Meade to be a man of the worst possible temper, especially towards his subordinates. I do not think he has a friend in the whole army. . . . At the same time—as far as I am able to ascertain—his generals have lost their confidence in him as a commander. His orders for the last series of assaults upon Petersburg, in which he lost ten thousand men without gaining any decisive advantage, was to the effect that he had found it impracticable to secure the co-operation of corps commanders, and therefore each one was to attack on his own account, and do the best he could by himself. Consequently, each gained

some advantage of position, but each exhausted his own strength, . . . while for the want of a general purpose and a general commander to direct and concentrate the whole, it all amounted to nothing but heavy loss to ourselves. Of course there are matters about which I cannot make inquiry, . . . but I know that General Wright has said to a confidential friend that all of Meade's attacks have been made without brains and without generalship."

Additional light is thrown on the state of affairs treated of above by certain private notes which Dana wrote me that week. From one of July 2d, I quote as follows:

"You can't imagine how delighted we were yesterday to hear of your safety. Kautz's report had made us fear that most of your command might have been captured. Still we knew that you were a hard fellow to catch, and that if any way could be found you would find it. Let us have your official report as soon as possible.

. . . "The state of affairs here is better than when you left.

"Judging by what I saw in Washington, the people are very despondent and anxious.

"Twenty thousand men are on their way here from the Department of the Gulf.

"Come over and see us as soon as you can."

From a note of the 7th, I quote as follows:

. . . "I can tell you as a great secret not to be spoken of that Butler is ordered to Fort Monroe and Smith put in command of the troops in the field.

"Franklin and Ord are here on a visit.

"Porter has just gone out on a flag of truce. Nothing important.

. . . "I was out at Petersburg with a lot of senators this morning."

The *Official Records* show that Grant requested Halleck to obtain an order assigning Smith to the command of the Eighteenth army corps and sending Butler back to Fort Monroe, on July 6th, at 10 A.M., and that the order was issued by the War Department on July 7th. They also show that two days thereafter Smith took advantage of ten days' leave of absence, which had been granted to him the day before on account of his head, and that before leaving he turned over the command of his corps to the next in rank, and notified Butler accordingly. He appears to have started that afternoon, and to have spent the night at Fort Monroe. The next day Butler is said to have called upon Grant with a request for Smith's removal. Exactly what he based this upon, or what took place in the interview which followed, has never been fully stated. From the *Official Records* it is certain, however, that an order was issued from Grant's headquarters on July 19, 1864, relieving Smith, while still absent, from the command of the Eighteenth army corps, and that this order was followed by Smith's farewell address, dated July 20th.

As the circumstances related above led to one of the most persistent and acrimonious controversies connected with the Civil War, every detail throwing light upon it has been looked upon as important.

Grant ignores the subject in his *Memoirs*, but Dana, who was sitting with Grant when Butler called, described the meeting to me many times afterwards as an embarrassing one, in which Butler, clad in full uniform, with a haughty air and flushed face, held out a copy of the order directing him to re-establish his headquarters at Fort Monroe, and asked, "General Grant, did you issue this order?" To this Grant replied, in a hesitating manner, "No, not in that form." Whereupon, perceiving that the interview was likely to be an unpleasant one, Dana took his leave

with the impression in his mind that Butler "had in some manner cowed his commanding officer," and this impression was never effaced.

It was now becoming evident at Grant's headquarters that Ewell and Early, whose detachment from Lee's army had been reported by Meade, were moving down the Shenandoah Valley. Having disposed of Hunter and forced him to withdraw in the direction of the Ohio, they were quick to perceive that there was no force in the way to stay their march towards Washington. On July 6th Grant came to the conclusion that Washington was their objective, and as he was now charged with the management of all military operations, defensive as well as offensive, he became exceedingly anxious to know exactly what was taking place so far to the rear. To that end, several days later, he asked Dana to return to Washington, for which place he started at once, arriving there for duty on the 11th. He found both Washington and Baltimore in a state of great excitement. The air was filled with alarming rumors, the Confederate forces were reported as advancing on Baltimore; several Confederate generals were said to have dined at Rockville a day or two before; houses had been burned near Washington, and clouds of dust could be seen in several quarters. Having sifted reports and rumors as carefully as he could, he summed them all up in a despatch, which he sent to Grant at ten o'clock that night.[1] In this despatch he reported the burning of the Gunpowder Bridge, beyond Baltimore, the capture of General Franklin, the defeat of Wallace at Monocacy, heavy skirmishing by Lowell's cavalry in front of Washington, and great activity on the part of Augur, Gillmore, McCook, and Ord in preparing for the defence of the capital. He reported also a great destruction of mills, workshops, and factories,

[1] *Official Records*, Dana to Grant, July 11, 1864—10 P.M.

and the breaking of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad for many miles. This despatch ends as follows:

"No news from Hunter. The force of the enemy is everywhere stated at from twenty to thirty thousand. The idea of cutting off their retreat would seem to be futile, for there are plenty of fords and ferries now in their control, where they can cross the Potomac and get off, in spite of all our efforts to intercept them, long before our forces can be so concentrated as to be able to strike an effective blow."

Dana gave emphasis to the foregoing despatch by two others which he sent to General Grant the next day. The first was dated July 12th — 11.30 A.M., and after reciting the fact that no attack had been made on either Washington or Baltimore, it reiterated the statement that "nothing can possibly be done towards" cutting off the enemy for want of a commander, and added that Augur commands the defences of Washington, Wright the Sixth corps, Gillmore a part of the Nineteenth corps, and Ord the Eighteenth corps, "but there is no head to the whole, and it seems indispensable that you should appoint one." It then called attention to the fact that "Hunter will be the ranking officer if he ever gets up, but he will not do," that in the judgment of the secretary he ought instantly to be relieved, as he had proved himself far more incompetent than Sigel. In conclusion he added:

. . . "The secretary also directs me to say that advice or suggestions from you will not be sufficient. General Halleck will not give orders except as he receives them; the President will give none, and until you direct positively and explicitly what is to be done, everything will go on in the deplorable and fatal way in which it has gone on for the past week."

This portentous despatch, showing the complete paralysis of the government at Washington, was followed at 12 M. the same day by another which reported Longstreet's corps as "coming rapidly down the Valley," and that possibly the "inactivity of the rebels in this vicinity is because they are waiting for reinforcements."

It is evident from these despatches that the greatest confusion existed, but it turned out that the prognostication of rebel intentions was unfounded, and that notwithstanding the great opportunity offered them, they had concluded, perhaps in ignorance of the chance they had thrown away, to withdraw to the Shenandoah Valley, which they did without interruption or serious delay.

To meet the great emergency thus forced upon him, Grant made haste to send the Sixth corps to Washington and then to go in person. After looking over the situation, he concluded to put Sheridan in command with orders to dispose of the Confederate forces in the Valley as a condition precedent to the resumption of operations in front of Petersburg. Meanwhile, this rendered it necessary to maintain a defensive attitude in front of Petersburg, and as this relieved Dana from the necessity of further service in the field, Stanton directed him to resume his duties in the War Department.

It will be seen, however, that his last services as a correspondent had resulted in his becoming the eyes of Grant as well as of the government, and that he had for the third time played an important, if not a determining, part in connection with the fortunes of both Grant and the country. It can scarcely be denied that had Dana, during the Vicksburg campaign, taken a different course, and instead of doing all in his power to strengthen Grant's hands, had reached the conclusion that the risks were too great, and that Grant was not only unfit to be trusted with such great responsibilities, but ought to be relieved, the career of

that general might very well have come to a premature end. It is almost equally certain that had Dana, after Chickamauga, done what he could to strengthen Thomas's hands and to build him up as the successor to Rosecrans, Grant might have failed to get the opportunity to add the salvation of Chattanooga and the victory of Missionary Ridge to his previous victories. Again, had Dana minimized Grant's merits and joined the hostile critics in denouncing his management of the campaign against Lee, instead of doing all in his power to magnify his performances, he might have seriously weakened the confidence of the government in the general's abilities and character even at that late day. Finally, had Dana proved unequal to the duties of his position on his return to Washington, and left Grant to learn from others the disagreeable facts which he communicated to him on July 11th and 12th, or had he failed to transmit to Grant the vigorous opinions of the Secretary of War as to the headless condition of military affairs about Washington, or had Grant elected to remain at City Point, and to leave to others the management of the campaign against Early and Ewell, his reputation must have suffered greatly in the public mind, as well as in the estimation of the administration.

Viewing the circumstances as set forth in this narrative, and drawing such conclusions from them as we may, no one can read Dana's letters or consider his connection with the facts related in them without reaching the conclusion that he acted with unusual prudence, good sense, promptitude, and fearlessness in presenting the best interests of the army to the government in reference to the Vicksburg, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Missionary Ridge, Knoxville, and Petersburg campaigns, as well as in presenting the views of the government to Grant during the Confederate demonstration in the direction of Washington.

It has fallen to the lot of no other American to serve as the confidential medium of communication between the army and the government, and between the government and the general-in-chief, as it did to Dana during the War of the Rebellion.

XXI

ADMINISTRATION OF WAR DEPARTMENT

Services in Washington—Spencer carbines—Sheridan's Valley campaign—Dana visits Sheridan—Defensive attitude of army in Virginia—Sherman's march to the sea—Nashville campaign—Dispersion of Hood's army—Letters to Wilson—Cavalry campaign in Alabama and Georgia—Grant's final campaign—Collapse of Confederacy—Dana goes to the front—Assassination of Lincoln—Arrest and trial of conspirators—Capture and confinement of Jefferson Davis—Visits Fort Monroe—Events and great review at Washington—Returns to civil life

Immediately after Early had withdrawn to the south side of the Potomac, and left Washington to comparative quiet and safety, Dana resumed his routine duties as Assistant Secretary of War, and soon became as completely absorbed in them as he had been in those of the army in the field. While he and Watson divided the work between them according to their own convenience, Dana gave special attention and much of his time to the investigation of frauds against the government on the part of contractors, and in the supervision of the operations of the Secret Service agents, who were employed in learning what was going on within the enemy's lines. But with all his cares he still found time for correspondence with his friends.

On August 4, 1864, he wrote me from the War Department as follows:

"I saw Rawlins on Sunday, and am sorry to notice the signs of increasing disease. I fear there is no hope for him.

"To-day we got the news of Stoneman's reverse. It is

a small affair—only five hundred men lost, and very likely the story is much exaggerated. In ordinary circumstances the event would be of no influence, but as the main campaign has produced no decisive results yet, the public mind has developed an extraordinary sensitiveness, and this disaster will weigh far more than it ought.[1]

"Why didn't you come down with the general on Sunday?

"The general at first proposed to put either Sheridan or Meade in charge of the campaign in the Valley; next he sent word to leave Hunter in command if he had already taken the field, but to put Sheridan over the Sixth corps and the cavalry, and now Halleck has telegraphed to him to suggest that Sheridan had better be put in command of the whole, but no reply has been received.

"It is dreadful to say that, with the large force assembled for this campaign, there is not a reasonable certainty as to what will be its result.

"Sheridan says that cavalry is of no great value on the James River, because the country is so broken, and on the south side so swampy, that it cannot be used with effect. He suggests that another division be brought up to act from this direction.

"I fall back on my faith in Providence. That will bring us out if human devices fail." . . .

It was in pursuance of Sheridan's suggestion that my division of cavalry was also ordered from the James to Washington on August 4th, and a few days later to the Valley of Virginia.

On August 29th Dana, who had accompanied me in my march through Washington, wrote to me as follows:

. . . "Affairs generally seem to be in a much better condition than when you were here. Farragut's success at Mo-

[1] Stoneman surrendered his entire command to an inferior force of Confederates, mostly militia, while on a raid in the vicinity of Macon, Georgia.

bile has done much to revive the public mind, and the pertinacity with which Grant holds the Weldon road against Lee's frantic efforts to retake it is of equal, if not greater, value. I am also expecting from Sherman news of importance. It is three days since he took the mass of his army to the south and southeast of Atlanta, abandoning his base on the Chattahoochee, leaving an army corps to hold his intrenchments there, all for the purpose of definitively cutting the connection between Hood and Macon, and forcing him to surrender for want of supplies. It will take some time to complete the operation, especially as it must involve a pretty elaborate destruction of both the West Point and the Macon railroads, but the fact that the Richmond papers make no report of the movement is greatly in favor of our success.

"McClellan will be nominated at Chicago to-day or to-morrow.

"I was in New York for ten days week before last, and was at Westport for one day. The loveliness of the place seemed to me something beyond imagination.

. . . "I had a letter from Baldy Smith on Saturday. I told him in reply that it was very much his own fault, and that if he had had no tongue, and had never known how to write, I had no doubt he would now be commanding one of the large armies."

Although every request had been granted, Sheridan's accession to the command of the Middle Military Division was not followed by an immediate restoration of confidence. Many thought he was too young and inexperienced for the great responsibilities which were imposed upon him. Six weeks of marching and countermarching ensued. It began to look as though Sheridan was more prudent than was necessary with the great preponderance of troops which he had with him in presence of the enemy. The financial world became more and more uneasy, and when the price of gold, which was the great barometer of

that Early began to pounce by small advances on the highest figures yet known. Grant himself took alarm and made a hurried visit to Sheridan to ascertain what was the matter. Fortunately, Sheridan had got his bearings, and when Grant arrived on the scene and learned the facts as they existed he wisely concluded that it was only necessary for him to say, "Go in!" The battle of the Opequan, or Winchester, was fought, and on the receipt of the news at Washington, September 21st, Dana wrote to me in enthusiastic terms as follows:

"A thousand cheers for the great victory won by the Army of the Shenandoah! It is an event whose importance is not to be measured by the immediate results of the battle. It is like the battle of Chattanooga in its far-reaching consequence.

"I am sorry McIntosh has had such bad luck.[1]

"As for General Smith's proposition, I am in doubt. Four weeks ago Gillmore went to City Point after the same thing and got a pretty decisive cold shoulder. Some officer is to have it, but I don't know who it is, and, since Rawlins and Bowers are both absent, there's nobody I can write to. I should like much to have it given to Smith. Perhaps I will write to the general.

"Rawlins is getting well. Dr. Green, in New York, says nothing is the matter with his lungs. His throat only was in trouble, according to Dr. Green, and after some weeks of curring and caustics the throat is pronounced cured. He goes back to duty next week.

"I have just heard from New York of the burning of my library. It was insured, but the money can't replace the books."

At the conclusion of the first Valley campaign I was promoted and ordered West, and on the way to my new

[1] This gallant brigade commander lost a leg in the battle.

interest in his employment, but remained his friend to the end.

On October 19th Dana wrote me from the War Department as follows:

"For four days I have been pretty busy, owing to the absence of Mr. Stanton, gone to confer with General Grant at City Point.

"Sheridan was here to see General Halleck day before yesterday, and reached his army on Cedar Creek yesterday. This morning he has been fighting a battle, with what result we don't know yet. Augur, at Rectortown, reports that at noon the cannonade had ceased, and that the sounds had not indicated any falling back of Sheridan's forces. You will hear the result by telegraph before this reaches you.

"Sheridan's sleeve-buttons reached me in time to send them to him just as he was getting into the cars to leave. They were very rich. I got them through George H. Boker, of Philadelphia, who has just written a splendid poem on Sheridan's glorification.

"It rather looks here as if Sherman might have caught Hood, but I know the difficulties of the country. Sherman seems to have waited a day for his wagons, when he might possibly have been fighting."

It was only a few hours till the telegraph brought the news of Sheridan's complete victory over Early at Cedar Creek. His army had been surprised at dawn, attacked in flank, and driven pell-mell from its camps, but it had rallied of its own accord and formed a new line about two miles in the rear, and was ready to advance at the word. This was given as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made. Sheridan's victory was instant and complete. It was specially noticeable, not so much for the whirlwind promptitude with which it was gained, as for the fact that it was the only instance of the

kind afforded by the war. It was the only case on either side in which an army, surprised and driven from the field in the morning, had rallied and returned to the fight the same afternoon and gained a complete victory. Even without the dramatic incidents which the reporters and the poets have connected with it, the performance was a sufficiently notable one to entitle Sheridan to a special reward, and this the government at once determined to bestow upon him. To that end, it promoted him to the rank of major-general in the regular army, and, as an additional expression of its satisfaction, sent Dana to deliver the commission in person. The journey was made by special train over the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad to Harper's Ferry, and thence on horseback with a cavalry escort to Sheridan's camp, some fifty miles farther up the Valley. After performing the agreeable duty intrusted to him, and riding through the enthusiastic army, Dana returned overland to Washington by the way of Manassas Gap. Throughout his journey along the Valley of Virginia, and from the Valley to Washington, although under escort, he was constantly in danger of capture by Mosby and his enterprising guerillas. Up to that time they had made that entire region most dangerous to all such parties, but Dana passed through it unmolested, and seems to have been scarcely conscious of the danger he was incurring.

Shortly after returning to Washington, he was sent to Indianapolis for the purpose of conferring with Governor Morton in reference to some new cavalry regiments for which horses, arms, and equipments were required. Having satisfied himself of the merits of the case, he returned to Washington and settled down for the winter at the routine work of the department.

On November 14th he wrote to me:

"I don't believe General Grant is coming to Washington.

"I judge that Meade is likely to be relieved and Hancock to be put in his place, but this is a mere private impression not to be repeated.

"Sheridan seems to be likely to be kept where he is for the present. I don't see the possibility of any Rebel campaign being made in the Valley, when all supplies must be hauled from Stanton. It is all a desert there; nothing is left except what corn was standing in the fields. All barns and their contents have been destroyed, and all stacks of hay and grain. All the cattle have been driven out, big and little, horned, hairy, and woolly. This in the Luray and Moorefield valleys, as well as in the main valley. Sheridan has fallen back to the Opequan, and has fortified his position somewhere near Smithfield, with the railroad to supply him from Harper's Ferry. Under these circumstances, and with Loudon and Fauquier similarly devastated, I don't see how the Rebels can try it again in that direction this fall, and my judgment is clear that Crook with his force will be ample to do all that is needed. If I were the general, I would take the other two corps and two divisions of cavalry for use elsewhere.

"Sheridan and Sherman are generals after the style I have always looked for in one respect at least—they devastate indeed.

"The former of the two appears to me to be the first military genius whom the war has produced on either side." . . .

On November 23d he wrote me again, as follows:

"Immediately on the first report of Canby's misfortune an order was made assigning General Reynolds to the temporary command of the military division. We now learn that Canby is not likely to be long disabled.

"I don't see any chance of Smith's being employed till General Grant desires to employ him.

"Franklin is not likely to have a command anywhere. . . .

"Don't believe any of the reports about approaching changes in the cabinet. If Mr. Stanton is to be Chief-Justice,

I don't know it; and I do know that neither General Butler nor General Banks is to be Secretary of War." . . .

As is well known, the Army of the Potomac and the forces under Sheridan maintained a strictly defensive attitude in Virginia during the entire fall and winter of 1864–65, while Sherman, without opposition worthy of the name, was "marching through Georgia." Hood, with an undefeated army which Sherman had failed to bring to bay, had been left behind, free to make his way into middle Tennessee, except as he might be opposed by Thomas, with the fragments of the three armies which Sherman had not thought good enough to accompany him on his holiday march. Hood's campaign was well planned and well directed, and failed only because his columns lacked weight and resources. Fortunately, they were opposed by the steady and invincible Thomas, who could neither be rattled nor defeated. Rawlins alone seemed to properly understand the difficulties and dangers which surrounded Thomas from the time Sherman turned his face towards the sea-coast and Hood began his advance into middle Tennessee. So persistent had the far-sighted chief of staff become for the concentration of an invincible force at Nashville that he went in person to St. Louis to see that every available division and corps was gathered up and sent without delay to make Thomas's position absolutely secure.

As can be well understood, the circumstances of the case, as they actually existed, were much better known to Thomas and his officers than to the lieutenant-general or to the War Department. This naturally led to an active correspondence between the various parties concerned. As I was the junior corps commander under Thomas, and the condition of the cavalry had been an important factor in the problem to be solved, I naturally availed myself of

the first opportunity to write fully to Dana, as well as to Rawlins.

The first reply I received was from Dana. It was marked private, and, of course, has never been published. It was written from the War Department, January 4, 1865, and runs as follows:

"I was absent in New York all last week, and found your most welcome letter on my table on Monday morning, the 2d instant, when I returned.

"You are aware long ere this that General Thomas has been appointed to the vacant grade of major-general in the U. S. A. This was done on the recommendation of General Grant, or rather with his hearty concurrence, for the proposal came first from Mr. Stanton. I hope that it will obliterate all unpleasant feeling in the general's mind. In my judgment, while there are more brilliant and more fertile minds than his, a character more pure and noble and sure than his does not exist. There is no man in whom, in the long run, confidence can more safely be placed, nor one who would fill the highest station with superior dignity and wisdom.

"The difficulty in General T[homas]'s case grew out of the fact that during the Atlanta campaign he was always a little too slow for the rapid and impatient spirit of Sherman. Then, after Hood had got to Nashville, he was long in getting ready to fight, and it was not surprising that both General Grant and the War Department should feel anxious at the delay. A sudden march to the north across the Cumberland might, as it seemed, place Hood's army in the centre of Kentucky, causing Thomas to follow him through a country rich in reinforcements and in supplies. General Grant desired him to be attacked at once, but General Thomas kept putting it off for reasons which no doubt were good, but which were too much like those so often urged by Buell and McClellan to be satisfactory. The truth is that Grant finally started for Nashville himself, but reached here with the news of the first day's successful battle. That, of course, stopped him

and changed all disposition to find fault into praise and admiration.

"The fact that Sherman left Thomas with insufficient forces to fight the rebel army is indisputable, but yet I do not think that Sherman is to be blamed for it. He did not start for Savannah until he had positive information from Rawlins that A. J. Smith's troops would reach Paducah in four days, and from other quarters that the horses and equipments of your cavalry would be got forward in ample season. Those things being determined—and I do not see why he need have had any doubt with regard to them—there was no reason for him to wait any longer. That A. J. Smith should be thirty days instead of four is not astonishing, but Sherman had no cause to anticipate it.

"But without looking too curiously into the past, let us admit that everything has turned out for the best. The delay to attack Hood, of which Grant, Stanton, and Halleck, in my judgment, quite justifiably complained, especially was of the most beneficial consequences. The ease with which the victory was gained was apparently due very much to the snow-storm, which froze the enemy and starved him, so that he fought at the greatest disadvantage. The only mistake I can now see in the campaign was the misdirection of the pontoon train. I wish you would tell me who is to blame for that. Very likely, however, it was not misdirected at all, for my information respecting it is derived from the newspapers alone.

"With regard to the organization of your corps, and the probability of its being recognized by the President, I know nothing. The way to get it done is for General Thomas earnestly to request it, and to say that he regards it as indispensable to the future efficiency of his army. As for the Spencer carbines, everything will be done that is possible, but I doubt whether you can get the whole product of the armories now at work on that arm. But I will see General Dyer on the subject. You have perhaps noticed in the newspapers the appointment of a board consisting of Majors Laidley and Benton, Ordnance Corps; Major Maynardier and

Captain Kellogg, Infantry; and Captain Rodenbough, of the Cavalry, with Lieutenant Edie, Ordnance Corps, to examine all breech-loading arms with a view to deciding which is best for infantry and which for cavalry service. This looks to the entire abrogation of muzzle-loaders for infantry. I find that Dyer is not disposed to adopt the Spencer for foot-soldiers, and that he also doubts whether it is the best arm for cavalry. But on this point experience will decide; the great point is to get rid of the ramrod.

"Of Washington news there is not much to tell. The most interesting question just at this moment is whether the anti-slavery amendment of the Constitution will pass the House of Representatives next week. It is hoped that a sufficient number of Democratic members will now vote for it to pass it, and send it to the States for ratification; but I can't tell whether the hope is well founded. . . .

"I came near leaving here about a fortnight ago to take the place of adjutant-general of the State of New York. The inducements were complete control of all military appointments among the troops of that State, the opportunity of great political usefulness, and an amount of pay on which I could live. But Mr. Stanton would not consent, and so I shall stay here for the present. But as soon as the war is so far over that I can properly leave, I shall attend to my own affairs. . . .

"From City Point I have no news. Joe Bowers was here a fortnight since, looking as well as ever. Dunn was up on Monday with a bundle of despatches for the secretary. He said all were well. Comstock accompanied Butler to Fort Fisher. That affair makes unpleasant feeling between army and navy. What is the real truth I don't know.

"W. F. Smith has gone to New Orleans as the head of a board to investigate the Quartermaster's Department there, and everything else.

"We have nothing of moment from Savannah since its surrender. Of course, Sherman's army will not be idle there. The Rebels are in desperation. Jeff. Davis wants to make terms with France or England, and is willing to become colonially

dependent on either of those powers and to abolish slavery. A violent discussion is now going on in the Confederacy on this subject, and on others, as, for instance, on arming negroes. I don't see how they can keep themselves going for a great while longer. The capture of Richmond now would certainly end them, and that event I suppose is not far distant. . . .

"Rawlins was looking very well when I saw him last, a month ago." . . .

Shortly after the close of the Nashville campaign it was decided to send Schofield's army corps from Tennessee to the Chesapeake Bay to assist in the closing operations in the Eastern theatre; and, as Dana had special charge of railroad transportation for the War Department, he was directed to make the necessary arrangements for the transfer, and not only managed all this business with consummate skill, but supervised the arrangements which were required in order to enable the soldiers to participate in the Presidential election.

On January 24, 1865, Dana wrote to me from the War Department as follows:

. . . "With regard to horses and arms, I do not know what has been done. General Halleck has been of opinion that you were asking for more horses than could be well foraged, and that it was impossible to keep mounted in the field so large a force of cavalry as you have desired. I judge that the views of General Halleck will be likely to prevail, and that you cannot count on the regular supply of horses to keep more than fifteen thousand cavalry constantly mounted in connection with General Thomas's command.

"The Ordnance Bureau is sending forward for you all the Spencer carbines that can be spared, and, as the number furnished will soon be increased by the large contributions to be expected under the contract of the Burnside Company, I presume that you will soon be able to arm all your command with this weapon.

"You inquire what changes are probable in the new cabinet. The only change that is absolutely certain as yet is that which will result from the return of Mr. Fessenden to the Senate, to which the legislature of Maine last week elected him. Who will be his successor is as yet entirely undetermined. The prominent candidates for the office, just now, are Mr. Hooper, of Boston, and Governor Boutwell, of Massachusetts, both members of the House of Representatives. As far as my judgment goes, I should be well satisfied with either, though I am more intimate with Mr. Boutwell, and consider him the superior man of the two. At the same time, Mr. Hooper is a person of the most solid character and capacity, and of very great experience in commercial affairs.

"Whether any other members of the present cabinet will retire is at this time only a matter of speculation. I have supposed that Mr. Welles would not be likely to remain, and also that Mr. Usher's transfer to some other position of usefulness was probable. But these things are still without any sure indication, and I should not be surprised if all the present cabinet should be retained with the exception of Mr. Fessenden. I especially regard it as certain that Mr. Stanton will continue in the War Department, and Governor Denison in the General Post-Office. Mr. Speed will also no doubt remain as Attorney-General.

"There has been a good deal of talk about Mr. Seward's withdrawal from the State Department, but I cannot find that it rests on any good grounds. Mr. Seward is certainly a candidate for the Presidency, and might think it prudent to retire for a time from public life, and to avoid the responsibilities which will be imposed upon him in office during the coming four years. But, on the other hand, he is an old and practised office-holder, and I have observed that men once used to power are very loath to resign it. For that reason I judge that he will lay the consideration of policy aside, and take any chances for nomination and election to the Presidency which may belong to Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of State. . . .

"I suppose that the advance of Schofield's corps is here by this time, although it has not yet been reported to me."

During the cavalry campaign through Alabama and Georgia, in March and April, 1865, I was necessarily cut off from all communication with the North. No letters reached me from any quarter, and the only news I received came through the Confederates or the "intelligent contraband." I knew that the spring campaign would begin "all along the line" as soon as the weather would permit, but I had no word from the time I left the Tennessee River till I arrived at Macon, Georgia, as to what had actually taken place in Virginia and the Carolinas; and after the armistice it took several days to re-establish telegraphs, and several weeks to open railroad communication and the postal service with the North. It was not till that was done that it became possible to learn the particulars of the great events that had taken place.

After the defeat and dispersion of Hood's army, the conviction became wide-spread that the Confederacy was doomed to an early collapse. Sherman had met with no resistance in his march to Savannah. While the moral effect of dividing the Confederacy in two again was very great, it is true that Sherman's divergent or eccentric movement made it practicable for Johnston to join Lee before Sherman's army could possibly form a junction with Grant's. This was a strategic mistake, which might have turned the scale for good against the National forces had the Confederate authorities been able to keep their people in the ranks. But desertion, quite as much as fighting, had done its work. The Southern soldiers were certainly tired of the war, for, in spite of the conscription, the woods were full of them. True, the leaders yet showed an undaunted front, but it seemed to be rather for the purpose of securing terms than with any well-founded hope of gaining a substantial victory. They made a brave stand at Bentonville, and another at Averysborough, but the odds against them were overwhelming. With all they

could do, they were forced to yield, though not till Lee's surrender made Johnston's inevitable. Even then they bore themselves with such confident assurance as enabled them to hoodwink Sherman and to secure their own terms of capitulation from that enterprising but credulous leader.[1]

After standing on the defensive in front of Petersburg for ten solid months, Grant began his own forward movement, late in March, 1865, with an overwhelming superiority of force. Sheridan's victorious army had rejoined Meade south of the James. Schofield's corps from the West had been directed towards the heart of North Carolina. Fort Fisher had fallen. Thomas had annihilated Hood. Sherman was marching northward, leaving a wide swath of ruin and desolation behind him. Canby was now sure of Mobile, while Wilson with his cavalrymen was marching through the heart of the Confederacy, destroying its last arsenals, armories, factories, and depots, and breaking up its last line of transportation. The end was at hand! The final and greatest of all Grant's turning movements had been well started. The battles of Dinwiddie Court-House and Five Forks crowned it with success. Lee's right flank had been finally turned, his line of intrenchments had been broken, and Petersburg and Richmond had been abandoned. Davis and his cabinet were in flight, and the *débâcle* had begun. Even Lincoln had gone to the front, with the hope of being in at the death.

At this juncture the impatient Stanton asked his assistant to "go down at once," for the special purpose of reporting the condition of affairs and gathering up the Confederate archives. On the morning of April 3d it was known that Richmond had fallen, but details were lacking, and Dana set out for the James River as soon as a steamer

[1] Gorham, *Life and Public Services of Edwin M. Stanton*, vol. ii., pp. 170 *et seq.*

could be got ready for his use. His son Paul and his friend Roscoe Conkling went with him, but the party did not reach City Point till the morning of the 5th, by which time the excitement was all over and there was but little to learn at that place. Lincoln had also become impatient, and had gone to Richmond the day before, and this left Dana and his party nothing to do but to follow him. They reached the captured capital of the Confederacy early that afternoon, and after walking about the town and learning what they could from General Weitzel, who had occupied it on the 3d, Dana began his search for the records and documents of the Confederate government. In this he was but partly successful, for the most valuable papers had been sent off to the South, while the others had been badly disarranged and scattered. Dana gathered up such as could be found, and sent them to Washington, where they became the nucleus of the great collection now in the possession of the government.

During his stay at Richmond Dana saw much of the President, and was in constant conference with him in reference to the conditions which they found prevailing about them, the questions which were coming up for solution, and the measures of government which it might be advisable to adopt. With both Lincoln and Andrew Johnson the Vice-President, on the ground to see for themselves, and with Grant in hot pursuit of Lee some sixty or seventy miles to the southwest, there was but little of importance that the Assistant Secretary could send to the Secretary of War at Washington; but he was, as usual, alert and industrious. He sent a number of despatches which will be found in the *Official Records*. It was always a source of regret to him, however, that his attendance on the President had made it impracticable for him to join Grant in time to be present at the surrender. Events were crowding rapidly on each other in that field, and it was

largely a matter of chance where any of them might meet the civil officers of the government. Grant and Lee now occupied the centre of the stage, while the Secretary of War, the Assistant Secretary of War, and even the President himself, were anxious spectators at a distance. Not one of them seems to have expected the curtain to drop when it did, and even after it had closed the final scene the secretary wanted a fuller account than he had received, and directed Dana to proceed to Grant's headquarters and gather up such details as might appear to be of interest; but Grant was not one to tarry long on the scene of his chief glory. He was as glad as the lowest private in the ranks that the war was ended, and made haste to leave the field. Dana joined him en route, and accompanied him to Washington, where they arrived on April 13, 1865.

The next day Dana had an interesting interview with Lincoln at the White House, in regard to the arrest of Jacob Thompson, a Confederate commissioner, who was trying to make his way from Canada through Maine to Europe. Stanton thought he ought to be caught, but sent Dana to refer the matter to the President. As soon as the latter understood the question to be answered, he said, "No, I rather think not. When you have got an elephant by the hind leg, and he is trying to run away, it's best to let him run!"[1]

That night, while at the play, Lincoln received his death wound at the hand of an assassin. Humanity and the country stood appalled; but Stanton, who had been from the day of his appointment as Secretary of War the strong man of the government, at once took charge. His first thought was to send for Dana, and it was to him that he dictated all the orders and telegrams that were sent out

[1] Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*. D. Appleton & Co.

that night. They closed their work and parted with each other at about three o'clock the next morning. The President was still alive, but unconscious and breathing heavily. He died a few hours later, and almost immediately afterwards the secretary sent an order to Dana directing him to arrest the commissioner who had been the last object of the good man's solicitude.

Dana at once put the machinery under his control in motion for that purpose, but this was far from being his most important duty in that emergency. He made every effort not only to apprehend the murderer of the President, but to detect and bring to justice all persons suspected of having co-operated with him in the accomplishment of his crime. It was from the first believed that the terrible tragedy was the result of a conspiracy of many persons. Through the preliminary measures set on foot by the War Department, and largely carried into effect under Dana's direction, the conspiracy was developed, and the conspirators were arrested and brought to trial. Dana had gathered many letters and much information showing the details of the conspiracy, and on May 18th gave his testimony in the case. Shortly afterwards private business took him to Chicago, whence he was recalled to Washington to identify the key of the Confederate secret cipher, which he had found at Richmond in the office of Mr. Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of State.

Having completed this duty, the Secretary of War sent him to Fort Monroe to see that the commanding officer should take every necessary precaution to prevent the suicide or the escape of the prisoners of state about to be confined at that place; and it was under this specific injunction that Dana wrote the order of May 22, 1865, authorizing and directing General Miles to place manacles and fetters upon the hands and feet of both Jefferson Davis and Clement C. Clay, Jr., whenever he might think

it advisable. The crime with which they were charged was one of extraordinary gravity. It had not only turned the nation's joy into a feeling of grief and resentment, but had horrified the civilized world. It should not, therefore, be thought altogether strange that the precautions taken were in excess of any real danger, and that it took several months to dispel the illusions upon which they were based. Fortunately, the charges finally gave way to a calmer and more dispassionate consideration of the evidence, and the prisoners were discharged without trial or further humiliation.

In a telegram dated Fort Monroe, May 21, 1865—1 P.M.,[1] Dana gave a full description of the landing and confinement of the prisoners, and the precautions taken for their security. He commented upon the haughty bearing, composed features, and firm step of Davis, in contrast with the more modest demeanor of Clay. He described the dress and appearance of both, and the manner in which each took leave of his family and friends. Notwithstanding the vicissitudes of politics and the mellowing influence of time, Dana evidently felt to the end of his career that no great injustice or unnecessary indignity had been inflicted upon Davis while a prisoner at Fort Monroe. His *Recollections*[2] contain his final statement on that subject—namely:

. . . "I believe that every care was taken during Mr. Davis's imprisonment to remove cause for complaint. Medical officers were directed to superintend his meals and give him everything that would excite his appetite. As it was complained that his quarters in the casemate were unhealthy and disagreeable, he was, after a few weeks, transferred to Carroll Hall, a building still occupied by officers and soldiers. That Davis's health was not ruined by his imprisonment at

[1] See *Official Records.*

[2] Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*, p. 287.

Fort Monroe is proved by the fact that he came out of the prison in better condition than when he went in, and that he lived for twenty years afterwards, and died of old age."

Having performed the duties which took him to Fort Monroe, Dana returned to Washington in time to witness the great review of Meade's and Sherman's armies, and of Sheridan's cavalry. This took place on May 23d and 24th, and on May 30, 1865, he sent to me at Macon a letter which has not been heretofore published. It runs as follows:

"I have received a good many letters from you, but have not answered them for the fear that during the meanderings of your eventful campaign they might never reach you. Now, however, that you seem to have made a settlement, and to be within reach of the mails, I take the first moment at my command to reply to all your kind communications.

"First, let me congratulate you on the brilliant success of your campaign. You can understand the reasons why I have enjoyed this especially. I have been delighted to find you putting down in this decisive manner all the criticisms and objections which certain friends of ours have been in the habit of making occasionally. I am delighted, too, that you have not fallen into any mistake growing out of the political complications connected with the peculiar termination of the war, and with the remarkable situation in which the State of Georgia is left by it.

"Second, let me inform you that the report which you probably have seen in the newspapers, that I have left the department, is only partly true. I have not yet left it, but propose to do so about July 1st. I have agreed to go to Chicago to undertake there the editorship of a new daily journal which is about to be established. As you are aware, it has not been my wish to return to my old profession on retiring from office, but to find some sphere of practical or industrial activity; but as nothing of this kind offered itself,

and as the inducements to take this place at Chicago were satisfactory, I have waived all scruples and made an agreement to go there. The prospects of pecuniary success seem to me to be very encouraging. Many of the leading politicians of the State, and a great number of the most prominent business men of Chicago, have assured me that no efforts will be wanting on their part to establish the prosperity of the new concern, and I see no reason to doubt that I shall be able not only to make a livelihood there, but to gain a political position in many respects agreeable as well as useful. At any rate, if this anticipation is not realized, it will not be for want of exertion and industry on my part. As I said, I shall go to Chicago soon after July 1st; the family, however, will not move there before September or October. Their design is to spend the summer somewhere in Vermont or New Hampshire, though this is still vague and partly undetermined, except in the case of Zoe, who is going to Conway, near the White Mountains, to spend the month of July with some friends from New York. Of course we shall take a house in Chicago, and when you go there, there will always be a room ready for you.

"The great event here has been the grand review of last week. The Army of the Potomac was reviewed on Tuesday, and Sherman's two armies on Wednesday. Everything passed off with great brilliancy. The Army of the Potomac exceeded the other two armies in numbers, although the Sixth army corps was not present, it being at the time on the road between here and Richmond. The old Army of the Tennessee, however, bore off the palm in appearance and in discipline. Its men were finer, its marching better, and its general effect much more soldierly and impressive. This great display of military power has had a deep influence upon the minds of the foreign diplomatists who were present, and they will now distinctly understand that, as a warlike people, the Americans are not to be despised.

"The most interesting incident at this review was, perhaps, the meeting between General Sherman and Mr. Stanton. A good deal of excited feeling had been caused beforehand

on account of the decided condemnation by the secretary of General Sherman's agreement with General Johnston, and by the publication by General Halleck of orders to General Wright and to General Stoneman to pay no regard to orders from Sherman, and not to stop hostilities until they had received instructions to that effect from Washington. Sherman was intensely grieved and disturbed by this publication, and is reported to have insulted Halleck while passing through Richmond.[1] I imagine, however, that this insult was by no means so extreme as has been reported in the newspapers. General Halleck told me that the letter which Sherman wrote him on the occasion had never been seen by any one but himself, and I am sure that its substance has been exceedingly exaggerated by those who have attempted to report it. Before General Sherman came here, his brother Charles had been very active in stirring up a quarrel, and all the politicians who are in league with Mr. Blair, and whose special object is to turn Mr. Stanton out of office, were assembled here on that occasion in order to effect their great purpose. Nothing, however, has come of their efforts, and nothing will. When Sherman met Mr. Stanton on the President's stand, it was noticed by everybody that they merely bowed to each other, but did not shake hands. A day or two after a letter from Sherman to Colonel Bowman was published, very indiscreet in its expressions, and quite bitter in its spirit, assailing the Secretary of War for having suppressed General Sherman's reports and letters. To this charge the secretary has made no reply, nor has he in any way taken any notice of the quarrel which has thus been attempted to be forced upon him. The difficulty, however, seems to be dying out of itself. Sherman's more discreet friends perceive and understand that he can gain nothing by attempting to make a controversy with the secretary, either for the reason of his condemnation of the treaty with Johnston, or because the reports of Sherman have not been published. With regard to these reports it appears that only one has failed to be

[1] See Sherman, *Memoirs*.

published, and that by an accident of which the secretary was entirely unaware. Nor do I yet know whether this report has been withheld by General Grant, or has otherwise failed to reach the adjutant-general. It is the report of that part of the campaign between Atlanta and Savannah, and anybody can see that the secretary, instead of wishing to withhold it from the public, would only have been too anxious to lay before the people the definite account of military movements so remarkable and interesting.

"With regard to Sherman's letters, the suppression of which is also charged by his friends, there are some of these, I am sorry to say, which instead of doing him credit and increasing his reputation with the public, would injure it very seriously. In one of them, for instance, addressed to General Grant, he says that if the secretary desires Jeff Davis to be arrested, he must send his bailiffs and detectives to do the job, because his soldiers are not to be employed on such business, but also adds that if the soldiers were to try to do it, they could not succeed, because Jeff has already got beyond their reach. Of course this was written some time before your troops had succeeded in taking him a prisoner. I presume, however, that nothing will come of all the excitement and discussion upon the question except that the public will become confirmed in the idea that Sherman, however brilliant as a soldier, is not to be trusted as a public man of sound and safe judgment. I am sorry for it on his account; but I cannot say that I really regret, on account of the country, the events which have taken him out of the category of possible candidates for the presidency.

"I went down to Fortress Monroe the other day to see your prisoner committed to the casemate in which he is confined. He was marched ashore in the midst of a guard at the head of which were the troopers of Colonel Pritchard. General Miles, formerly of the Second corps, who has been sent to the fortress to take command during Jeff's incarceration, led him along by the left arm. Davis marched with as haughty and defiant an air as Lucifer, Son of the Morning, bore after he was expelled from heaven, and I was rather

surprised not to find in his mien or step the signs of that physical exhaustion and that mental depression which all persons had represented him as having fallen into. General Miles, however, tells me that this was merely a piece of acting for that special occasion, and that he has since either exhibited signs of the greatest weakness, or of a sort of intense and imbecile fury. When and how he is to be tried is, so far as I know, not yet determined. He has been indicted by the grand jury of this city for participation in the raid which Breckenridge and Early made here last summer, it being necessary to have some overt act with which to sustain the charge of treason. Possibly, however, owing to the great difficulty of being certain about a jury, it may be determined to try him by a military court, in which case the trial will take place at Fortress Monroe.

"General Grant is quietly established here in the discharge of his official duties as commander-in-chief. He has the same office which General Halleck occupied, and Rawlins and Bowers keep their desks in the room on the other side of the hall. I think that they find it rather dull work and pretty hard. The mass of papers that is sent there is no joke.

"Mr. Seward is recovering,[1] and will no doubt entirely regain his strength. His fractured jaw must be nearly united by this time. For the last month he has worn one cap on the top of his head, and another under his chin, the two being united by bands of steel, and connected with a gutta-percha apparatus fitting to his jaws inside his mouth, and all rendering him, in connection with the wounds about his face and neck, one of the most horrible spectacles that the human eye ever beheld. He will, however, soon be able to lay aside this apparatus. His son, it is probable, will never recover. So far every active exertion has been soon followed by a hemorrhage from the broken artery in the top of the brain, and the number of fractures of the skull is so great that, however he may seem to regain his strength, his life must always be exceedingly faint and precarious. . . .

[1] From the injuries inflicted upon him by the assassin who attempted to kill him at the time the President was murdered.

. . . "Of course you get all the common run of news from Badeau, who I suppose has not much to do except to write private letters. I notice that your old aide-de-camp Hudson[1] now wears the straps of a lieutenant-colonel. It is rather astonishing to see what an enormous crop of brigadier-generals has sprung up within the last few months. I should say that there were more officers of that rank than of any lower grade.

"Merritt and Custer have both gone with Sheridan, whose command embraces the States of Arkansas and Texas alone, leaving Pope to command Missouri and the Northwest, and Canby to command Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama.

"Sherman's troops are now all camped just outside of Washington north of the Potomac, it having been found advisable to separate them from the Army of the Potomac, whose camps are all on the south side of the river. A good many fights have occurred between the private soldiers of the two armies. I have heard of one or two men who have been killed, and one or two who have been seriously wounded. Sherman's men are also pretty troublesome to the farmers and other quiet people where they are. He will, however, begin to move away at once. The first detachment of seven thousand is to leave to-morrow for Louisville, where it will be stationed for the present as a reserve, and the regiments which are to be mustered out will begin to proceed to their respective States, day after to-morrow. As soon as they arrive at the capitals of those States they will be paid and disbanded, so that they can go home and go to work again." . . .

As the foregoing was written when the events described were fresh in Dana's mind, his account of the meeting between Stanton and General Sherman, and what actually took place on the reviewing stand may be considered as conclusive, though it is but fair to add that the incident, whatever may have been its exact nature, was a purely

[1] In the Knoxville expedition.

personal one, the principal effect of which was to emphasize the general's resentment towards the secretary for the part the latter had taken in the rejection of the agreement between Sherman and Johnston for the capitulation of Johnston's army, and for the re-establishment of peace east of the Mississippi.

During the remaining weeks of his life in Washington, Dana assisted in all the business of the department incident to the arrest and trial of the President's assassins, and to the discharge of the great army of volunteers, but as this was mostly routine work which the permanent bureaus disposed of in the usual manner, he made but little record of the part which fell to his lot. While he worked on to the last with unabated industry, his task was really done, and his mind was henceforth naturally more concerned with his own future as affected by the offer he had received from Chicago to re-enter the profession of journalism.

On June 2d he wrote to me as follows:

. . . "Noyes has been here with your letter, but I was out and did not see him.

"Governor Brown is now at large by order of the President, but on what terms I don't know.

"The war being over, the army is rapidly being reduced, and new military divisions will at once be created, and lots of general officers and staff-officers will be mustered out. Very likely you may go with the rest, but I know that you will descend as gracefully and probably more cheerfully than you went up. But General Grant will take care of you in one way or another.

"I suppose Halleck will command the Pacific coast; Sheridan west of the Mississippi; Thomas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and the Northern States between the mountains and the Mississippi; Sherman, the South; and Meade, the Atlantic coast from the southern boundary of South Carolina to Canada, with a district commander in every State.

"Mr. Seward continues to get better. Sherman's excitement is cooling off, and I suppose he begins to think he has gone too far. The President is as lenient as was his predecessor; I think he even beats him in pardoning. They inform me from Chicago that my new paper is very successful at the start. I send you the first number, in the making of which I have had no share; if, however, I can make twenty thousand dollars a year by it, while I exert a wholesome and honest influence on the politics of the country, and on its general progress, I shall be content."

This was followed by a note dated June 18th, part of which is here inserted:

"Though I didn't have the good-fortune to see Captain Noyes, I got the saddle, and have used it regularly ever since. It is very good, indeed, as I can testify from experience. It was not needed to keep you ever fresh in my memory, but I can assure you that it is not valued any the less because it came from you.

. . . "The President's proclamation appointing James Johnson provisional governor of Georgia was issued this morning. I dare say you know a great deal better than I do who he is. I never heard of him before. . . .

. . . "I shall remain [here] till July 1st, and then shall go to New York on my way to Chicago, where I expect to arrive about the middle of next month.

"Major Eckert is to be my successor in office." . . .

Having been delayed in his departure for Chicago, he wrote his last letter to me from the War Department, on July 4th, as follows:

"Your very interesting letter of June 23d reached me this morning by way of Chicago. As you will see by the date of this letter, I have not yet set out to go there. I expected to leave last Saturday, and actually handed in my resigna-

tion and had my trunk packed, but at the last moment Mr. Stanton asked me to stay another week, and I consented, though at considerable inconvenience to myself. . . .

. . . "I am sorry you have sent to subscribe for my paper, for I intended to send it to you myself, as soon as I got to work upon it—that is to say, about three weeks from now.

"About brevets for your officers, I suppose the fact is just the same as with everybody else, Mr. Stanton has been too busy to sign the papers. There is a pile of them about two feet high now lying upon his table, and I presume, though I don't know, that yours are in with the rest.

. . . "I propose to show your letter to General Grant, but to no one else.

"Rawlins has gone to Galena with his wife. General Grant has gone to Albany to celebrate the Fourth. General Halleck is here on his way to San Francisco. Slocum is assigned to command Mississippi, and I suppose Steedman will have Georgia.

"A heap of generals will be mustered out very soon, but you are not in the lot.

"Poe is here getting up his engineer's work from Sherman's campaigns, but I haven't seen him. Ulffers is with him. He came to see me the other day.

"Peter Hains got his leave of absence about three weeks since to take command of a New Jersey regiment, so that he is a colonel in spite of everything." . . .

XXII

BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA

Editor of Chicago *Republican*—Opposes policy of Andrew Johnson—Supports Grant for presidency—*Life of Grant*—Failure of Chicago newspaper—Returns to New York

Having terminated his connection with the War Department, Dana sent in his resignation on July 1, 1865, and a few days later proceeded to Chicago for the purpose of becoming editor of the *Daily Republican*. It has been stated that he was not specially anxious at best to take up again the work of journalism, and that he had hoped on his retirement from the public service to make some business connection which would offer better inducements than editing or publishing a newspaper, but this hope was not to be realized. His talents according to the belief of his friends lay in the direction of his previous employment, and at the instance of Senator Trumbull and other prominent men of Illinois, he consented to accept the editorship of a new Republican paper which had been started a few weeks before. Its capital was fixed at five hundred thousand dollars, and this sum, had it been paid in, or even subscribed by solvent people, would have been ample, but as it turned out the enterprise was based largely upon promises that were never realized.

Dana threw himself with his accustomed vigor into the discussions of the day, and soon made his mark in the affairs of the city and State, as well as of the nation. The re-establishment of the Union, through the reconstruction

of the Southern States, and their readmission to the privileges and protection of the Federal government, had already become the absorbing question of the day. Dana, one of the founders of the Republican party, and perhaps as much identified as any other man with its policies, believed fully in the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws, as well as in the supremacy of the national government, but recognized the difficulty as well as the novelty of the situation with which the administration and the Congress had to deal. Naturally independent, if not radical in his views, his qualities soon began to show themselves in the character of his newspaper. He had personally but a poor opinion of Andrew Johnson, who as president at least was a creature of accident.

In common with the more conservative Republicans, Dana was loath to break with him, but as the fight developed he gradually found himself taking sides with Stanton, and favoring the radical policy of reconstruction which was brought forward by his friends in Congress. While this was by far the most important question under discussion, the issues were slow in developing themselves. Besides, however interesting they may have been, they were not a sufficient basis upon which to found a popular newspaper. Chicago, although a growing and important place, was far from being, as it is now, the second city in the Union. It was well supplied with newspapers, several of which were exceedingly able and enterprising, and this made it all the more difficult for the *Republican*. It was brilliant, able, independent, and interesting; but capital as well as talent was needed, and it soon became evident to Dana that capital in sufficient quantities could not be had to put it firmly on its feet. After a year of struggle and disappointment he resolved to give it up and buy or found a newspaper in New York.

On November 6, 1865, he wrote to me that he had re-

ceived and used certain hints that I had sent him about the condition of affairs in Georgia, that he had just learned that one of the President's private secretaries had been caught selling pardons and stealing otherwise to the amount of thirty thousand dollars; that he had been relieved from his confidential position and ordered back to to his regiment, where he would be permitted to resign in order not to scandalize the President, and that the story was not then public. It seems to be worthy of observation that it afterwards got out, and became somewhat notable as the first of a series that brought serious discredit on official life in Washington. The same letter contained a statement to the effect that

. . . "The plan of rushing the South back into the Union, so that she may vote for a friend of ours [Andrew Johnson] in 1868 won't work. The rebels are rampant, and will have to come down." . . .

This passing remark shows an early tendency towards the course he afterwards openly adopted and strenuously supported to the end.

A few days later Dana wrote to me that while it was most desirable that the ex-Confederate "officers should go to work like honest men to earn their living," he doubted the wisdom of trying to associate them with Northern officers in the express company which had been recently organized. He preferred a scheme for cotton raising with the help of freedmen which had been presented to him, but the fact that he could not command the necessary capital kept him out of that undertaking and probably out of bankruptcy as well. The price of cotton was high, and there ought to have been profit in raising it, but negro labor, which must have been the main dependence, was far too much unsettled by the abolition of slavery to warrant the hope of success in such a venture.

Early in December Dana went to Washington on business, but before going wrote to me that the volunteers having all been discharged, the regular army would be increased to perhaps fifty thousand men, to be made up by retaining a sufficient number of the colored troops, and that the feeling was at that time against Washburne's bill to revive the grade of general, mainly because it was supposed that men who did not know General Grant as we did would think that the general himself was at the bottom of it. In the same letter he expressed his hearty approval of retaining such officers as Sickles, Robinson, T. W. Sherman, and McIntosh in the service till some other provision could be made for them, because each had lost a leg in battle.

Shortly after his return to Chicago, he acknowledged the receipt of a letter from me written at Richmond, intimating that while in Washington a few days before I had discovered signs of a change of feeling towards him at General Grant's headquarters. This appeared to give him great concern, as it made him think there might be much less sense there than he would like to believe. He added:

. . . "As for my being unfriendly to the general, that is too absurd to be thought by any but a fool. About Lee's surrender I had my own judgment, and when it was necessary for me I expressed it. So of the bill to make Grant a general. That bill is a dreadful mistake. It exhibits a desire for rank and money that detracts from the general's greatness in a fatal way. I have never been more afflicted by any public measure than by that bill. But I refrained from saying anything against it until I was compelled to. And I tell you that it would be much better for the general's future that it should not pass. I dare say it may be got partly through Congress, owing to the cowardice and weakness of the members; possibly it may be got quite through; but there are few sensible men who approve it in their hearts.

"There seem to be some gentlemen who don't realize the difference between a friend and a lackey.

"However, I don't suppose the general is of any such opinion as these persons. If he were, I should be very sorry. Sorry to lose his friendship, but yet more sorry that he could withdraw it for such a cause. I think that under such circumstances his misfortune would be greater than mine. I have no objection to Rawlins and Bowers seeing what I have written.

"I am glad you have asked to be mustered out. It is the right and only thing, but I fear it will keep you from coming to see me." . . .

How the idea of Dana's being unfriendly to Grant at that time originated I have no means of recalling. Neither of the officers mentioned above could have suggested it. They were far too disinterested and sensible, and far too likely to share Dana's opinions on such subjects to condemn him for entertaining them. The charge of unfriendliness must have started with quite another set who disliked Dana, and took this means of neutralizing his influence with Grant. The latter was credulous and easily worked upon, especially by men whom he liked and saw daily, and who were selfish enough to appeal to his egotism without revealing their own motives. But whatever may have been its origin, there is no evidence that the alleged unfriendliness on the part of Dana had as yet produced any impression on Grant. He was slow to anger and resentment, and was far from being given to suspicion. While he was not at all likely to take sides, or judge others harshly in their personal controversies, he was by no means indifferent to his own interests. Slow enough to anger in reference to injuries done to others, he was also slow to suspect or resent insults or injuries intended for himself. But withal he was unrelenting when his anger was once thoroughly aroused. The most that can be said is that

some of Grant's intimates at that period were inimical to Dana, and had begun to avail themselves of such chances as they had to arouse Grant's suspicion against him. But that their efforts were so early successful can hardly be believed. This view of the case is strengthened by the fact that externally, at least, Grant and Dana remained on friendly if not intimate terms till some time after Grant had become President. This is shown not only by Dana's letters to me during that period, but by the still more important fact that when he was asked in the spring of 1868 to write a *Life of Grant*, and accepted on the condition that I should collaborate with him in the work, I took the precaution of writing to Rawlins for his views on the entire subject before accepting the proposition, which was that I should prepare the text, that Dana should read, revise, and amend it as far as necessary, and that the book should be published in our joint names. To this, notwithstanding Grant's understanding with Badeau, and Badeau's strenuous objection that any one but himself connected with Grant's military career should write his life, Rawlins not only gave his hearty approval, but assured me that neither he nor Grant, with whom he had fully conferred, saw the slightest reason why I should not accept Dana's offer, or write the book separately on my own account. There was no suggestion of Dana's unfriendliness in this correspondence, and no doubt cast upon his perfect good faith. Other facts will be cited in their proper order to sustain this view of the case.

The troubles with the Chicago *Republican* began almost immediately after Dana's connection with it. He had scarcely got settled and begun work in earnest before the fact that enough actual capital had not been provided became apparent. I visited him in February, and found that the concern was already crippled by lack of means. The situation was both unexpected and embarrassing.

As Dana had been compelled to borrow money while in government employment to pay the difference between his meagre salary and his actual expenses, he counted upon the ample salary which had been promised him to pay his debts, put his family in easy circumstances, and begin the accumulation for a rainy day, but this was not to be. On April 30, 1866, he wrote to me:

"I have been worked to death since you were here, and much disturbed by difficulties in the *Republican*. These difficulties are serious, and how they will end I don't know.

"I shall get out of the concern if I can, unless it is put on a different basis, and means are raised by the capitalists who have invested in it to carry it through in a satisfactory manner. The publisher is a bad man, and not as judicious as he is smart. That is the essence of the trouble. I am holding on to see what will turn up, and also to save too great a sacrifice in the process of extricating myself.

"I conclude that the express company is all up, for I see that J. E. Johnston has been beaten in an attempt to become president of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad. Where does this leave you, and how soon will you get out of it? . . . How is Rawlins?"

Matters now culminated rapidly. The parties concerned could not raise the money necessary to put the newspaper on a sound footing, and there was nothing for Dana to do but to leave it. He went East in June for a conference with his friends, in consequence of which he decided to start a newspaper of his own in New York.

On July 18, 1866, he wrote me from Washington that he was there on business, and had gone over on the same train with General Grant and his family; that Porter and Badeau were in the party; that the heat and dust were stifling, and that he had seen the party the next day in much more comfortable condition. He added:

. . . "Rawlins, too, looks very well, but I notice that his cough still seems very ugly."

During this trip he was asked in the interest of General Grant to write a criticism of William Swinton's *Decisive Battles*, but on account of the pressure of his engagements he was forced to shift the burden to me, at the same time offering to revise my manuscript and to visit me for that purpose should it become necessary. About this time he notified me that a successor to Professor Bache as Superintendent of the Coast Survey was soon to be appointed, and that I could get the place if it suited me, but he added, the best thing for me was

. . . "to get into the great battle of the world in some active position." . . .

The next day he wrote to me from New York:

"I don't believe Rawlins has made any alliance with . . . the Copperheads. The President is an obstinate, stupid man, governed by preconceived ideas, by whiskey, and by women. He means one thing to-day and another to-morrow, but the glorification of Andrew Johnson all the time. He is capable of almost any enormity, but he will be foiled and covered with even greater infamy than John Tyler.

"Send along Swinton as soon as possible. I shall be here certainly till the end of next week, and possibly somewhat longer. Then I shall go to Chicago for a short time." . . .

On July 27, 1866, he stopped with me in Delaware on his way to Chicago. While there he sold his house at a profit, and thus made it possible to re-establish his family in New York, although he had not yet secured all of the capital needed for his new venture, and seemed to be quite uncertain as to his ultimate success. Indeed, that project

proved harder to carry through than he expected. So far as could be seen, there were already enough daily newspapers in New York City, and hence, with all Dana could do, he could not complete his financial arrangements till well towards the close of 1867. Perhaps the delay was a fortunate one both for himself and for his stockholders, for on January 8, 1868, he wrote:

"Thanks for your welcome letter. It finds me in the midst of business.

"Just as we were about commencing our own paper, the purchase of the *Sun* was proposed to me and accepted. It has a circulation of from fifty to sixty thousand a day, and all among the mechanics and small merchants of this city. We pay a large sum for it—$175,000—but it gives us at once a large and profitable business. If you have a thousand dollars at leisure you had better invest it in the stock of our company, which is increased to $350,000, in order to pay for this new acquisition. Of this sum about $220,000 is invested in the Tammany Hall real estate, which is sure to be productive, independent of the business of the paper.

. . . "Remember me cordially to Rawlins and the general. I have written to the latter, asking for the discharge from the Second Cavalry of the young German I wrote to you about last summer. His father is very anxious to get him released from his position as a private soldier. If you can put in a word for him, please do so."

Before leaving that part of Dana's life connected with the Chicago *Republican*, it is proper to say that the official files of that newspaper were destroyed with the office in the great fire, and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no other in existence. It is therefore impossible to give either the declaration of principles which guided him, or a summary of the views which he expressed on the topics of the day. The most that can be said is that they were

independent and vigorous, but not at first specially hostile to Andrew Johnson or his policies. They were doubtless followed logically by the editorials of the New York *Sun*, and may be inferred generally from them, till the break with General Grant introduced a new era in Dana's life.

XXIII

PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION

Dana buys New York *Sun*—Prospectus of new management—Supports Grant for President—Opposes impeachment of Andrew Johnson—Independent policy in politics—Defends Grant's military career—Warns South against revolution—Editorial reconstruction—Approves acquittal of President—Letters and editorials—Nominates Greeley for the Cabinet—Favors expulsion of French from Mexico—Holds Great Britain responsible for Alabama claims—Commends initial policy of Grant's administration—Opposes creation of new departments of government—Approves general amnesty—Recommends Greeley for Grant's Cabinet or Minister to England—"Manifest Destiny" or "Continental Union"—Annexation of Haiti and Santo Domingo—Repeal of tenure of office act—Arrest of Samuel Bowles

Dana closed the contract for the control of the New York *Sun* late in December, 1867, or early in January, 1868, for himself and his associates, among whom were such distinguished men as William M. Evarts, Roscoe Conkling, Thomas Hitchcock, Alonzo B. Cornell, Cyrus W. Field, Edwin D. Morgan, George Opdyke, David Dows, Salem H. Wales, William H. Webb, and Freeman Clarke. Several other gentlemen of nearly equal prominence were included in the list of stockholders. They were nearly all Republicans, and all influential in the political or commercial life of New York and of the country at large. The prospectus of the new management of the newspaper was printed in its editorial page of January 27, 1868. After giving notice that the *Sun* would henceforth be published from the building known as Tammany Hall, at the corner of Nassau and Frankfort Streets, that the price would re-

main at two cents, and that the paper would contain more news and other reading matter than heretofore, it made the following comprehensive declaration of policy and principles, over the signature of Charles A. Dana, "manager and editor":

"In changing its proprietorship, the *Sun* will not in any respect change its principles or general line of conduct. It will continue to be an independent newspaper, wearing the livery of no party, and discussing public questions and the acts of public men on their merits alone. It will be guided, as it has been hitherto, by uncompromising loyalty to the Union, and will resist every attempt to weaken the bonds that unite the American people into one nation.

"The *Sun* will support General Grant as its candidate for the Presidency. It will advocate retrenchment and economy in the public expenditures, and the reduction of the present crushing burdens of taxation. It will advocate the speedy restoration of the South, as needful to revive business and secure fair wages for labor.

"The *Sun* will always have all the news, foreign, domestic, political, social, literary, scientific, and commercial. It will use enterprise and money freely to make the best possible newspaper, as well as the cheapest.

"It will study condensation, clearness, point, and will endeavor to present its daily photograph of the whole world's doings in the most luminous and lively manner.

"It will not take as long to read the *Sun* as to read the London *Times* or *Webster's Dictionary*, but when you have read it, you will know about all that has happened in both hemispheres. . . .

. . . "We shall endeavor to make the *Sun* worthy the confidence of the people in every part of the country. Its circulation is now more than fifty thousand copies daily. We mean that it shall soon be doubled; and in this the aid of all persons who want such a newspaper as we propose to make will be cordially welcomed."

In one of the first numbers of the paper Dana took strong ground in favor of the United States protecting all of its citizens as well as Great Britain protects hers. The occasion was the arrest of George Francis Train, an eccentric but harmless citizen, as a Fenian, and this general attitude was at all times afterwards maintained as Dana's guiding principle in discussing our relations with England and the British empire, for which he had no overweening love or admiration. He appears never to have forgotten the attitude of Britain towards the colonies in their weakness, or the States in their distress, and it is safe to say that all through his editorial life his position on all questions of British practice or policy affecting the United States or any other American country or colony could be predicted with absolute certainty as anti-British. The presumption seems to have been ever-present in his mind that it was the immemorial and certain policy of Britain and her statesmen to bully the weak and bow to the strong powers of the earth; to take what they could get away with from those who could not defend themselves, and to respect and cringe to those who were strong enough to resist injustice and outrage.

From the start he favored the election of Grant as President, not so much in admiration of his superior wisdom or virtue as for the central fact that, having been the victorious leader of the Union armies against the hosts of the slave-holding Confederacy, he had come to be regarded, since the death of Lincoln and Stanton, by Union men everywhere as the best exponent of the Union cause, and his election would be considered, not only by the American people, but by the world at large, as settling for good and all the question of national sovereignty and the perpetuity of the Union, in which there should be no denial of equal citizenship on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

From the first Dana favored "manhood suffrage" and the complete enfranchisement of the freedmen, and ridiculed the idea that eight hundred thousand black votes could dominate or control five million white ones. He sneered at the cry of negro supremacy, as raised by the Southerners, and declared that the horrid spectre they had conjured, when dragged into the light, "would turn out to be the veriest phantom."

As early as February 7th he took ground against the impeachment of Andrew Johnson as "far too serious an undertaking for the facts and evidence in the case." On the other hand, he severely condemned Johnson's arbitrary methods as sure to lead to trouble of the gravest character. He declared, with emphasis which could not be misunderstood, that "Law is law, and must be obeyed," and this necessarily included the act of Congress for the protection of Federal office-holders from unjust and partisan removal, as well as the Constitution itself. Knowing from long association with Stanton that he was devoted heart and soul to the cause of the Union, and would countenance no act for its injury, he stood with that distinguished statesman and lawyer for the right of Congress to prescribe every step and lay down every condition precedent for the readmission of the seceding States to the privileges and protection they had rejected when they passed their ordinances of secession. He denied the right of the President, of his own motion and prerogative, to fix the terms or to define the steps by which the Southern States might again become sovereign members of the Union. He held it to be the right and duty of the loyal States, through their representatives in Congress, to "so reconstruct the Union as to protect it from future rebellion," and that it was neither just nor decent to denounce this policy as partial and proscriptive. From the first to the last he was firm in the belief that the Congress should take the lead in all

such matters, and that it should proceed, with deliberation and justice to every interest, to pass the necessary laws to carry this policy into effect.

On the all-important question of the national debt and the national currency, he took the ground, in the month of March, 1868, that

"If we mean to be honest at all, there is no escaping payment in specie. Anything else is repudiation, disguise it as we may."

And this remained his text till the question was settled forever in the only way it could be honestly settled—namely, by actually paying every bonded obligation in gold, and by resuming specie payments and making every paper obligation good for its face in that metal. The *Sun* did as much as any journal in the United States towards bringing about this settlement, and in accordance with its independent policy in politics, from the earliest days of Dana's management, it did all in its power to compel the Democratic party to give up its sectional heresies, and plant itself on advanced and patriotic ground broad enough to include the entire Union and all its interests. It desired to see that party as well as the Republican party become national in fact as well as in name, and in discussing the question Dana said:

. . . "In its earlier days the Democracy had a noble pride in being a party of liberal ideas, radical doctrines, and reformatory measures. . . . It relieved and protected the poor by first ameliorating and then abolishing the law authorizing imprisonment for debt. It early became the ardent advocate of universal suffrage. . . . When it initiated this measure, the possession of landed property was an essential qualification both for the holding of office and the exercise of the elective franchise in all the States. . . . It should remove the

débris of its broken-down platforms out of its path; adopt measures consonant with its liberal principles; bow its old-fogy leaders to the rear; summon its vigorous manhood to the front; inscribe progress, retrenchment, and reform upon its banner, and move onward to win victories for the masses in the future as its fathers won triumphs for them in the past. So it may restore its tarnished prestige and regain its lost power."

Looking back upon the time of this noble utterance, and the series of political mistakes which for years thereafter paralyzed the efforts of the Democratic party, who can find fault with Dana's broad and statesman-like views, or fail to regret that the party to which they were addressed proved to be utterly incapable of accepting or carrying them into effect? They would certainly have made the party national instead of sectional, and might have materially changed the history of the country.

It was in March of this year, 1868, that Dana entered into a contract with Gurdon Bill & Co., of Springfield, Massachusetts, for a *Life of General Grant*, to be prepared mainly by me, edited by Dana, and published over our joint names.[1] The work was limited to one volume, octavo, and was written and printed within three months. It was issued in ample time to assist in the election of General Grant to his first term as president. Indeed, that was its principal purpose, and while Dana wrote only three chapters—the thirty-sixth, thirty-eighth, and thirty-ninth—he read, approved, and passed all the rest, rarely ever changing the text in the slightest degree. It is also worthy of note that he never afterwards withdrew any part of his

[1] *The Life of Ulysses S. Grant, General of the Armies of the United States.* By Charles A. Dana, late Assistant Secretary of War, and James H. Wilson, Brevet Major-General, U. S. A. Gurdon Bill & Co., Springfield, Massachusetts; H. C. Johnson & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio; Charles Bill, Chicago, Illinois. Pp. 431. 1868.

responsibility therefor, or modified his commendation and approval of Grant's military career. Whatever differences arose afterwards between them, or found expression in Dana's criticism, related entirely to Grant's career in civil life. Indeed, it may be confidently asserted that Grant as a soldier, from the beginning to the end of the war, never had a better friend than Dana. The *Sun*, even in the midst of its bitterest criticism of his career as President, and as a candidate for re-election, was always swift to repel the attacks of others who assailed his character and performances as a military man. Long years after all controversy was ended, and Grant had failed in business and paid the debt of nature, and Dana himself had become an old man, he reaffirmed all that he had ever said in defence of Grant's generalship either in the *Sun*, or in the *Life* to which he had attached his name. During the presidential campaign various newspapers, notably the New York *World*, assailed Grant's character as a general with great vehemence and pertinacity. It charged him with poor strategy and worse battle tactics, alleging that his victory over Lee was due solely to superiority of numbers and resources, and not to superior generalship. It claimed that he had won by "the policy of mere attrition," and pointed to his final report to sustain this view. It quoted the returns of casualties in the Virginia campaign to prove that his tactics were "murderous" and wasteful of human life. These points and many others, as they were brought forward, were answered in the *Sun* according to the facts of each case and the military principles applicable thereto.

It was on the point of wastefulness of human life that Dana published in the *Sun*, and afterwards in the *Life of Grant*,[1] as well as in his own *Recollections*,[2] official tables

[1] Dana and Wilson, *Life of General U. S. Grant*, p. 430.
[2] Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*, pp. 210, 211.

prepared in the War Department, showing that the National armies in Virginia lost more men killed, wounded, and missing, while under its previous leaders, from May 21, 1861, to May 4, 1864, in their futile efforts to capture the Confederate capital and overthrow the Confederate government, than did the armies operating in Virginia under General Grant from the time he began his campaign on May 4, 1864, till April 9, 1865, when Richmond was in his hands and Lee and his army were prisoners of war. For the first period the aggregate was 143,925; for the second, 124,390. The difference was something more than two years in time and 19,535 in casualties; and while the larger part of the latter was in captured and missing, the effect was to show conclusively that Grant's tactics were not only more successful in results, but better in quality than those of his predecessors. In view of the fact that the forces engaged were larger than ever before, the argument drawn from these tables was all the more unanswerable. As a matter of history it was never answered, and stands good to this day.

It should be observed in connection with this subject that Dana at no time ever contended that Grant was a great organizer or tactician, or that his staff arrangements were perfect. He simply regarded Grant as the best and most successful general we had, and believing with Rawlins and others that he was a modest, disinterested, honest, and unpretending hero, with whom we could win, he did all he could to help him carry his great task through to a successful ending. Nobody knew better than Dana what Grant's limitations were, nor better than he where his tactics were bad and his management defective; but it is to his credit that he confined his criticism, both then and afterwards, to the inner circle of those who shared his knowledge and concurred in the faith with which they predicted Grant's ultimate success.

Curiously enough, Dana was never one of those who thought Grant made a mistake in giving up his position for life as General of the Army to accept the temporary office of President. Sherman and many others who knew him well frankly declared their distrust of his ability to sustain himself in civil life, or to compete successfully with experienced politicians and statesmen in managing national affairs; but Dana did not agree with them. He and I discussed the question frequently, both then and afterwards, and I am sure that while he made no effort to disguise his doubts, but relied mainly on Grant's good sense and his willingness to take counsel of those who had known him best and stood next to him, notably as Rawlins had done, Dana felt that it was not a question of personal interest, but one of personal duty; and that while Grant had done much for the country, the country had done much for him, and was entitled to his further sacrifices and services. Even if it had been known, or could have been foreseen, that Grant would make a failure of his civil administration, there is no doubt Dana would still have favored his candidacy and election, if for no other reason than to settle forever the question of reconstruction on the basis of perpetual Union and national sovereignty. This was the view that Dana took from the first, and I have frequently heard him express the opinion that had Rawlins lived and retained his influence, Grant's civil career would have been as creditable as his military career; and long after Grant's death I heard Dana declare that it was a necessity of the times that the general should be elected; that it was his duty to accept; and that, notwithstanding the mistakes which might be justly charged to his administration, he was entitled to the grateful recollections of his countrymen.

No one can examine the files of the *Sun* without becoming impressed with the soundness and breadth of its

views on the questions of that period. Dana had taken it over quite recently, and while pledging himself to maintain its independence in politics, it was necessary in increasing its circulation to retain as far as practicable its old readers among the mechanics and shopkeepers of the city, who were mostly Democrats. While he was from the start just and sympathetic towards the South, he warned the Southerners to give no credence to the thought of revolution in the North, and to dismiss the idea that the Northerners were "a race of fanatics, Jacobins, agrarians, mercenaries, and cowards." He pointed out that the war had to a certain extent exorcised this fantasy, but expressed the prophetic fear that the exorcism would not be complete nor the delusion wholly disappear till a new generation should arise "who know not John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis." Meanwhile the ignorant and credulous should understand that whatever shall happen in regard to the impeachment of the President, no party or creed in the North "has the remotest idea of resorting to a revolution even on the reduced scale of a riot," in order to redress any real or imaginary grievances. He added:

. . . "If there had ever been a latent purpose, in one mind in a million, to apply this remedy under any imaginable circumstances, the terrible failure of the Confederate experiment has plucked it up by the roots, and will prevent its germinating again for a century to come.

"Andrew Johnson may be deposed and disfranchised, and Benjamin Franklin Wade installed in his place; but a people who have seen the life-blood of a quarter of a million of their sons flow out on the battle-field are not going into a frenzy because an accidental President is toppled out of his chair, according to the forms of law, by the men who placed him there, but whose confidence he has betrayed. And if Mr. Wade should, in co-operation with the Senate, remove every Federal office-holder, from his cabinet down to the tide-

waiters, the people, so far from revolting, would feel rather relieved by the consciousness that no change could let loose upon them a more hungry swarm of vampires. If the majority of Northern electors should regard the condemnation of Mr. Johnson as not justified by the law and the facts of the case, or the administration of Mr. Wade as inopportune or proscriptive, they will redress the wrongs of the former and punish the offences of the latter, not by violence, but through the irresistible yet peaceful energies of the ballot-box.

"If, after a sharp struggle, Mr. Pendleton should be deputed to lift up the official scourge and drive the Republicans from the public crib, so far from raising the sword against him, they would be much more apt to hoist their sails for a profitable voyage on that ocean of greenbacks wherewith he proposes to enrich the country. If, on the other hand, General Grant should be sent to the Executive Mansion for the next four years, we should look for a reign of peace and prosperity both in the North and in the South. The North would turn from its ordinary pursuits barely long enough to read the returns of the election, while the South would cease its resistance to the inevitable sequences of the Rebellion, complete the reconstruction of its shattered States, and devote its energies to reviving its depressed industry and educating its ignorant populace.

"The North American race is not prone to revolution any more than its Anglo-Saxon progenitor. After many years of civil commotion, accompanied with an occasional crossing of bayonets, England got rid of the Stuarts. She shed but little blood; but even that has sufficed for nearly two centuries. After twenty-five years of political strife, followed by four years of terrible war, the United States has destroyed slavery, and its legitimate offspring, secession. Our taste for fighting is satiated. For a century to come the American remedy for the redress of grievances will be a peaceful resort to the ballot-box."

Three days later, in an editorial on reconstruction, Dana referred to the elections already held and soon to

be held in the old slave States as "indicating with precision" the drift of public opinion in the South on the subject of reconstruction. He pointed out that the congressional plan was sure to triumph; that the ten seceding States would all be restored to their old-time relations to the Union; would again resume the control of their political affairs under constitutions framed by themselves; would be represented in both branches of Congress, and would participate in the election of the next President of the United States. In a vein of philosophy he continued:

. . . "Of course this plan of restoration is not entirely congenial to a large mass of those who took an active part in the Rebellion. This is not surprising. It is not in the nature of things that the conquered party in such a conflict as that through which the country has passed during the last seven years should submit without grievous repinings and a certain show of resistance to the terms imposed by the victors. The South were a proud, a gallant people. Their hopes of independence had been raised to the highest pitch. They had staked their property; they had pledged their honor; they had shed their best blood to achieve a triumph. Their defeat whelmed them in impoverishment and ruin, tarnished their fame, crushed their lofty aspirations, and exposed them to the penalties of treason. The consciousness that the terms of reconciliation have no parallel for magnanimity in the history of great civil wars does not replenish their exhausted finances, nor revive their drooping industry, nor heal their wounded honor, nor restore to life their slain sons. Nevertheless, in view of all the circumstances, the defeated class in the South have accepted their new and trying situation with as much equanimity as could have been reasonably anticipated. Their crime was great, and terribly have they expiated it. Their fall has put poor, proud human nature to one of its severest tests, and they have stood the cast of the die with as much self-control as any people in like circumstances in all history. When they shall realize

that the change has become irrevocably fixed, they will no doubt find it far more tolerable than they expected, and may yet discover that even negro suffrage, under the kindly and skilful management of the old dominating class, will soon cease to be a source of annoyance, and ultimately become an element of power."

The judgment of the Senate in the case of Andrew Johnson, who had been impeached by the House of Representatives, was sufficiently indicated by the first ballot taken in the case. On May 19, 1868, Dana published in the *Sun* an editorial entitled a "Calm Review," which runs as follows:

"The Republican party may fairly claim the credit of the most signal impartiality in the conclusion of the impeachment trial.

"The President was impeached by the act of the Republican majority in the House of Representatives. He was arraigned before the Senate, and tried with patience and intelligence. The Republicans in the Senate were numerous enough to convict him. The country generally desired to see him ousted. It was felt that it would bring peace where there is now doubt and discord, and that it would tend powerfully to the speedy restoration of the Union and the revival of industry and business. We may even say that the world expected his conviction. It was the first time that the supreme executive officer of a nation had been brought before a tribunal, established by the people, for regular trial, and for peaceful deprivation from office in case of conviction. Europe looked on with awe at this novel proceeding. Of course it was not supposed in these monarchical countries that any other result than the removal of the obnoxious executive could possibly follow.

"Notwithstanding all this, the trial has ended in acquittal. Mr. Johnson still exercises all the powers of his great office. In spite of party feeling and party pressure, there are seven

Republican senators who have said, on their oaths, that the evidence and the law would not justify his conviction. It is creditable to these senators that they have had the firmness thus to decide. They dislike Mr. Johnson. They detest his character and his policy. But they will not swerve from the line of their convictions on that account. In their judgment he is not proved guilty, and so they declare." . . .

It will not escape the observation of the intelligent reader that the judgment which Dana expressed so promptly has long since been accepted, not only by the dispassionate people of the country, but even by the radical element of the Republican party, which brought on the impeachment and managed the trial of the President. It is now generally conceded that it is a fortunate circumstance that President Johnson was not removed from office, not only because he was not guilty of the "high crimes and misdemeanors" with which he was charged, but because his removal for differing with his party on a novel question of constitutional procedure would have set a precedent by which the independence of the chief executive might have been destroyed, while the character of the government itself would have been so changed as to become more like the revolutionary governments of Latin America than that established by Washington, Hamilton, and Marshall.[1]

From this time forth it may be truthfully said that Dana was the *Sun*, and the *Sun* Dana. He was the sole arbiter of its policy, and it was his constant practice to supervise every editorial contribution that came in while he was on duty. The editorial page was absolutely his, whether he wrote a line of it or not, and he gave it the characteristic compactness of form and directness of statement which were ever afterwards its distinguishing features.

[1] See Dewitt, *Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson.*

From the day Dana took charge the paper was successful. Its circulation fell off at first, but shortly afterwards began to increase.

On June 2, 1868, in writing to his friend Huntington, after saying that his brain and hand were so used up with other writing and other work that he had but little strength or time for private correspondence, he added:

. . . "Professionally I may be called prosperous. Since I have had the *Sun*, now five months, it has not failed to make money, and its subscription lists steadily increase. The profits are not very large, but that they should exist at all is surprising. I did not expect it. I have revolutionized the character of the paper, and as a matter of course increased expenses and lost readers in the process. The cost of making the paper is more than double what it was under its former proprietor, but its income from advertisements has increased also. When its sales are seventy-five thousand daily, as I think they are bound to be, its profits will be handsome, and the fellows who own stock will think themselves lucky.

"In politics I maintain entire independence of party relations, but I am going to help elect Grant President."

In the same letter he gives an attractive sketch of his family life, of the growth, character, and education of his children, and of his abstention from society, partly because of the exactions of his calling, and partly because "we can't afford to entertain." He gives news of their common friends and classmates, and winds up with pleasant assurances of the hospitality which his friend should hasten home to enjoy. In conclusion he says:

. . . "Perhaps you are waiting till I am rich enough to spend a few weeks in coming to fetch you. What a jolly time that would be, to be sure! And how you would endeavor, all in vain, to lead me into useless disputations on all matters

whatever. Yet I will promise to humor you sufficiently in that regard, and so for the present good-bye."

And this brings us to the election of General Grant as first President of the re-United States. His nomination by the Republicans was from the first a foregone conclusion; but when it came, and Dana gave it his unqualified approval, as he did, he again notified his readers that he did so, not as a partisan, but as a free American citizen. In the *Sun* of May 22, 1868, he wrote:

. . . "In bestowing commendation upon him, we reserve to ourselves the privilege of dealing as fairly and impartially by the nominee of the Democratic party as by him. The organ and champion of neither party, we shall speak freely of each according to its merits, and hold the balance with even justice between the two, during the exciting canvass upon which the country is now entering."

He had already expressed the opinion that it would be good policy for the Democrats to nominate Chase, as that would give us

. . . "the two foremost men of the country leading the two opposing parties. It would be a spectacle worthy of the best days of the republic."

In commenting upon Grant's nomination, which, notwithstanding the moderation of his views and the magnanimity of his conduct, was received by the South not only with disapproval, but with threats and predictions on the part of the turbulent and irreconcilable element of the Democratic party, throughout the entire country, that his election would be followed by disorder and possibly by further rebellion, Dana, on August 8, 1868, sounded a note of warning which, coming from an independent journal, attracted wide attention. It runs, in part, as follows:

. . . "In 1856 the Democratic leaders beyond the Potomac threatened that, in the event of the choice of Frémont, they would not submit to his administration, but would appeal to the sword. The great majority of our citizens then regarded this as empty gasconade; but when, in 1860, on the election of Lincoln, they attempted to reverse the decision of the ballot-box by a resort to the battle-field, we saw that their declaration of 1856 was no idle threat. The Spanish-American mode of retrieving the loss of a Presidential campaign has been once tried by the Southern Democracy. The experiment has cost the nation seven thousand millions of dollars and one million of lives, and has entailed upon us and our posterity a debt of three thousand millions of money, with its necessary accompaniment of remorseless taxation, putting the democratic theory of government to the severest tests ever endured by any people in all history.

"Not accepting in quietude and submission the scathing retribution that followed their great crime, many of these ex-rebels and ex-traitors—surviving as they do through the generosity of General Grant, whom they pursue with their malignant hate, and through the clemency of the government, of which they have proved themselves so unworthy—again threaten that, in case they suffer a defeat at the polls in the coming autumn, they will, heedless of their recent discomfiture, once more appeal from the verdict of the hustings to the arbitrament of arms; while, on the other hand, they declare with marked emphasis that, if they are successful in the pending struggle, they will, under the protection of the administration, and in spite of recent amendments to the Federal Constitution, and of the new constitutions of their several States, and of the enactments both of Congress and their legislatures, restore the Lost Cause by forcibly resuming and exercising all the rights they forfeited by the Rebellion.

"The main question, then, involved in the present contest, and by the side of whose colossal proportions all matters concerning reconstruction and finance dwindle into insignificance, is whether our citizens will tolerate in this country the Spanish-American mode of setting aside the legitimate result

of a Presidential election, either by the defeated minority on the one hand, or the triumphant majority on the other, resorting to violent measures to retrieve the losses of the former or redress the grievances of the latter.

"The American people must meet this question *in limine*. These baffled conspirators threaten violence whatever may be the result of the election. Patriotic men of both parties, rising superior to the claims and clamors of faction, must, through the omnipotence of the ballot, trample the last throe and wriggle of life out of this pestilent serpent of Nullification and Revolution."

During the period of doubt as to the result of the impeachment trial, it was considered possible that the president of the Senate, then Mr. Wade, of Ohio, might succeed Andrew Johnson, and in this event that the cabinet would necessarily be reorganized. This gave rise to much speculation as to its probable composition. Many names were discussed in the *Sun*, but that of Horace Greeley was counted as the first. In presenting it on April 30th, Dana used the following language:

. . . "Of Mr. Greeley's capacity for the office of Secretary of State, the Republican party can have no manner of doubt since his famous letter to the blockheads of the Union League.[1] He has the advantage of Mr. Seward that he can be brief and forcible. Mr. Greeley's political record is without reproach."

It will be remembered that from the time Dana left the Chicago *Republican* till he took charge of the *Sun* he contributed to no public journal, and took no public part in shaping national policies, but he was an observant spectator of both national and international events. From the end of the Civil War, and before the volunteer army was disbanded, he held that the first duty of the government

[1] See Parton, *Life of Horace Greeley*, p. 515.

at Washington was to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, as against the usurpation of Maximilian and his French allies. He favored their expulsion from Mexico by force if necessary, and felt confident that, as soon as they knew the purposes of the United States, they would go without waiting for an appeal to arms. He also favored the policy of holding Great Britain to a rigid accountability for the damage done to American shipping by the Confederate cruisers which had been built, fitted out, and permitted to sail from English sea-ports. On these two great questions Dana was emphatically an American. He affected no love for Great Britain, and the letters he wrote from Paris in 1848, and the editorials he afterwards published in the *Tribune*, show that he had less for Louis Napoleon, and no confidence whatever in the stability of his dynasty. Long before our own troubles culminated he wrote:

"No one can predict when the great edifice of fraud, violence, plunder, political pretence, and incapacity which constitutes the Second Empire will come to an end. The result is certain; the time and the mode depend upon accident. But we know that Louis Napoleon has outlived his proper period, and we may at any hour be called to witness the closing catastrophe of this strange, eventful, unenviable career."

From the date of Grant's election the question uppermost in the public mind was reconstruction, "which had been needlessly procrastinated"—as declared by the *Sun*—"under an administration that had forfeited the confidence and respect of the country," but which would be so completed by its successor that before the next anniversary of our independence "every star would be restored to its appropriate place upon the national ensign, and a protracted and bitter controversy would be brought to a felicitous close."

General Grant was specially commended as having early "set his face against any increase of the public expenses," as well as against "the encouragement of schemes of doubtful utility," or of such "as ought to rely on their own resources, although they might justly claim to be beneficial to the public."

There was, perhaps not unnaturally, a pronounced tendency at that time on every hand to transfer all sorts of business to the general government; but this tendency received no support from Dana. To the contrary, he declared that all efforts in that direction "demand the closest scrutiny from the sincere friends of liberty," and that "hands off" is the true doctrine in a republic towards the government on all subjects which can be managed by individual enterprise. These ideas received additional support from the utterances of E. B. Washburne, who, as the representative from Grant's home district, was regarded as the spokesman of the new administration, both in and out of Congress. On the strength of his speeches, as well as on account of a notable one delivered by General Rawlins at Galena, their common home, the *Sun* inferred that the cardinal measures of Grant's policy would be rigid economy, searching retrenchment, strict accountability on the part of every office-holder, especially on the part of those charged with the collection and disbursement of the public moneys, the supremacy of the laws, and their rigid enforcement in every branch of the government and in every section of the Union.

In the belief that the operations of the Federal government should be minimized rather than enlarged, Dana instinctively took strong ground against the creation of new executive departments and the exercise of new powers by the national administration. In condemnation of this idea, he contended that the time had come to start once again upon the true Democratic theory of simplifying the

machinery and reducing the importance of the central government. This conviction doubtless had much to do in bringing about the break between Dana and the administration he had done so much to put in power. At all events he took an early occasion to declare that liberty of the press is essential to the security of personal freedom, and that it was his "religious belief" that "men must be at liberty to say in print whatever they have a mind to say in print, provided it wrongs no one." On the other hand, he contended that "the right of silence is every bit as sacred as the right of speech," and that "the practice of publishing private conversations without special permission should be regarded as a vulgar and reprehensible encroachment upon the right of every man to have his sentiments communicated to the public only by his own volition." This sound and decorous principle became thenceforth the rule of the *Sun*.

It was during the month of June, 1868, that it was proposed in Congress to lay a tax upon the interest paid on government bonds. As this was generally regarded as looking towards repudiation, Dana made haste to declare that if the members who voted for it "had any sense of shame left they would never show their heads among honest people."

Having always stood for sound money and honest government, he complimented Horatio Seymour, the Democratic governor of New York, as "a life-long believer in hard money." On the other hand, he denounced Butler, who had recently become a Democratic representative from Massachusetts, for bringing forward the proposition to strike from the United States legal-tender notes "the promise to pay in dollars." This, he pointed out, as a transparent effort to establish "fiat money," in opposition to which Dana promptly contended that there could be no value in government paper because the word "dollar was

inscribed on it," unless it expressed or implied by unmistakable language that it was exchangeable for its equivalent in specie. In support of this honest contention, he urged, a few days later, that the first thing to be done in order to bring the country into a healthy financial condition was to "raise the national credit so that its promises to pay . . . should be universally regarded as equal to the gold itself."

As a fitting commemoration of Independence Day, Dana gave hearty commendation to Andrew Johnson's proclamation of amnesty to all political offenders. He and Greeley stood together on the wisdom of that liberal and timely measure. A few weeks later Dana declared that Jefferson Davis should also be pardoned, that no good could come from trying him for treason, and that he and his efforts against the Union "should be left to be dealt with by history." In this he and Greeley stood together again, and it is most creditable to Dana that never at any time did he show the slightest ill-feeling, but, to the contrary, availed himself of every opportunity to commend the patriotism and ability of the man who had caused his discharge from the *Tribune* only a few years before. He strongly favored his election to the Senate, and recommended him for a place in the cabinet of Wade, in case that senator should be called upon to succeed President Johnson. But this is not all. When the public began to speculate on Grant's cabinet, Dana brought Greeley's name forward with those of E. B. Washburne and Marshall O. Roberts, as in every way worthy of favorable consideration. Not satisfied with this, or fearing that Greeley would not be chosen, he set forth his special fitness for the position of minister to England, which has always been justly regarded as the most important post connected with the diplomatic service of the United States.

It will be recalled that although a rebellion against

the dominion of Spain broke out in Cuba in 1868, it for some time attracted but little attention in the United States. Dana was one of the first American editors to recognize the justice of the outbreak, and to express his sympathy for the Cuban people. In doing so he took occasion to say, September 29, 1868:

. . . "The natural tendency of all the countries lying round the United States is to gravitate towards our system, and finally to become parts of it. To this rule Cuba forms no exception."

It is needless to call attention to the fact that this is the doctrine of "Manifest Destiny," or "Continental Union," which Dana, from that time, never lost an opportunity to promote. His sympathy for the Cubans throughout both their wars for independence was open and earnest. His first article was followed shortly by another favoring a declaration of sympathy on the part of Congress, and authorizing the President to recognize the independence of the Cuban people, when they should have established a republican form of government. For this, and for his constant friendship, the Cuban patriots soon recognized and ever afterwards held him to be the best and foremost friend they had in the United States.

It should also be said that Dana at first opposed and then, after seeing the treaty which Seward had negotiated for that purpose, favored the acquisition of the Danish island of St. Thomas. About the same time he advocated the annexation of both Haiti and Santo Domingo "on fair and honorable terms," as the best means then feasible of making our position in the West Indies secure. In order to relieve Grant's administration from embarrassment, he favored the repeal of the tenure of office act, which, it will be remembered, was passed for the restraint

of President Johnson, and advocated the early adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution, which provides that the right of suffrage shall not be abridged by the United States, nor by any State "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

In local matters Dana took grounds against imprisonment for debt, and against the New York law prohibiting the sale of liquor, as both unsound and ineffective. On the arrest of his friend Samuel Bowles, editor of the Springfield *Republican*, while visiting New York, for libel, he not only condemned the act, but denied the right of any citizen of Massachusetts to use the courts of New York in any such case. All unconscious of its bearing upon himself in the future, he held then that it was of the essence of justice and the constitutional right of every American citizen to be tried by the laws and within the limit of his own State for any crime with which he might be charged against the people of that State.

XXIV

GRANT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

New York *Sun* as an independent newspaper—Rawlins Secretary of War—Dana recommended for collector of customs—Washburne secures appointment of Moses Grinnell—Dana commends appointment—Grant's cabinet announced—Wide-spread disappointment—Nominations of Stewart and Borie regarded with amazement—Rawlins highly commended—No splendid administrations—Call for Borie's resignation—Dana declines appraisership of merchandise—Criticises Grant's use of *Tallapoosa*—The "Black Friday" conspiracy—Frauds in the custom-house—Death of General Rawlins—Appointment of Belknap—*Sun* opposes Hoar's confirmation—Condemns Secretary Fish

From the preceding chapter it will be evident to the most casual reader that Dana, from the beginning, conformed strictly to the principles which he had laid down for his government in the conduct of the *Sun*. From the day he took charge of it he made it an independent newspaper in the broadest sense of the words. While it supported Grant for the presidency, it wore the livery of no party. While it discussed every public question and commented on the acts of every public man as occasion required, it must be admitted that it did so in no personal sense, but upon their merits alone. If the freedom of the press is essential to the freedom of the citizen, absolute independence of judgment on the part of the editor is not only his highest privilege, but his highest duty to the public. As the future course of this narrative will show, the *Sun* was never anything if not independent. In making it so, Dana estranged many friends, but while he

was not indifferent to their good opinions, as many supposed him to be, nothing turned him from the course he thought it his duty to pursue. He may not have been right always in the details of his statements or opinions, and probably cared but little for the mere appearance of consistency in what he said from day to day, but it is certain that he pursued the general course he had chosen with unfaltering constancy and fearlessness to the end. And it was by these virtues, commingled as they may have been from time to time with faults and errors of detail, that the *Sun* soon came to be the most widely read and most frequently quoted newspaper of the United States. Its style was terse and vigorous, clear and luminous, from the start. Whatever was worth saying at all was worth saying well, and in language which no man could affect to misunderstand. Statesmen, lawyers, preachers, professors, and educated men of every calling read it with avidity, and this fact made it possible, not only by its utterances, but by the persistency with which it reiterated them, to exert a tremendous influence upon every occasion in shaping public opinion.

During the month of February, 1869, while staying with General Grant in Washington, he read his inaugural address to J. Russell Jones, of Chicago, and myself, and invited our comments upon all important subjects except the cabinet. This he naïvely told us he regarded as "a purely personal matter" which he would not discuss with any one, not even with his wife. He gave us his views freely about many prominent civilians and soldiers, and asked us for the names of such as we thought worthy of consideration and place. On this hint we reminded him of a number he had not mentioned. It was during the first of these interesting conferences that he told us, in answer to a direct inquiry that he intended to send Rawlins, the chief of staff of the army, to command the Department

of Arizona, in the hope that the dry atmosphere and out-of-door life of that region would restore his health; and he specially authorized me to make this known to Rawlins. This was done the next day, when I was by no means surprised to learn that Rawlins was not only not pleased with the general's intention, but wanted to be Secretary of War, and thought himself fully entitled to that honor. Thereupon the matter was discussed in all its bearings, and finally at the request of Rawlins, I laid his views before the general. Much to my gratification, the general, without the slightest hesitation or disappointment, directed me to tell Rawlins that he should be Secretary of War, but that he would have to wait a while, possibly thirty days, because he had asked Schofield to hold over. The matter was arranged accordingly, but instead of holding over a month, Schofield went out, and Rawlins went into the War Department on March 9th, the sixth day after the inauguration. I have General G. M. Dodge's authority for the statement that he took the same view of Rawlins's case, and received the same assurance that had been given to me.

I have related these facts with greater detail perhaps than necessary, because they led to many other conferences, one of which at least was germane to this narrative. Knowing that Rawlins not only had great influence with General Grant, but as much interest in the success of his civil as he had had in his military administration, I talked with him even more fully than with Grant about both men and measures. We discussed the merits of many with whom we had become intimate during the war, and among the first of these was Charles A. Dana. We agreed that he had rendered both Grant and the government most important service; that he was a vital, able man; and that having a metropolitan newspaper fast rising into popularity and influence, he could be of great benefit to the new adminis-

tration. In consideration of the fact that he could not with justice to his own interests leave his newspaper, we concluded that the most suitable place for him was that of Collector of Customs at New York. Rawlins, who was a prudent man, took the matter under further advisement, and at our next meeting, not only expressed his concurrence in the conclusion we had reached, but requested me to inform Dana that he was to have that place, and this was without qualification or condition. Feeling that it was a wise decision, I made haste to communicate it both by letter and in person. Inasmuch as Rawlins was at that time seeing Grant daily, and discussing every sort of question with him, except such as were personal to himself, I assumed that they had considered and decided upon Dana's appointment together, and that Rawlins had full authority for the assurance he had authorized me to give to Dana. This and this alone is consistent with the character of Rawlins and his relations to Grant; but the matter hung fire, and, greatly to the surprise of many, Moses Grinnell, a gentleman of much less consideration, received that appointment, while a month later an inferior place in the same service was offered to Dana.

What or who caused this change of purpose has always been a matter of conjecture with me. It will be remembered that E. B. Washburne, Grant's first friend in public life, was also his first Secretary of State, and although he held office but a few days, for the purpose, as the President himself explained at the time, of giving him "special prestige as minister to France," he was most active, in the short interval allowed him, in disposing of patronage and breaking political slates. While it is evident that Grant wanted to do the proper thing, and appear not ungrateful to Washburne, it is also evident that he did not intend to have that aggressive statesman too near at hand, and therefore decided to send him as far away as possible. That

Dana concurred in this is hardly consistent with the assumption of the *Sun* that Washburne was to have a cabinet position. What Washburne's real feelings were towards Dana cannot be positively stated on any evidence in my possession, but the chances are that they were inimical. He was a strong, aggressive, and ambitious public man, not over-fond of his rivals nor over-lenient to the people he did not like. Having been long in political life, and a Republican before it was popular to be one, he had many debts to pay and many friends to reward. Grinnell was widely known at the time as a gentleman of the highest character, but he was without political prominence, and was besides regarded as a special friend of Seward, which of itself could scarcely have commended him to General Grant, no matter what might have been his relations with Washburne. In making the announcement of this appointment in the editorial page of the *Sun*, March 26th, Dana certainly showed no feeling of resentment. He stated truly that it was regarded as a victory of the Seward faction over the Greeley faction of the Republican party in New York, and that

. . . "it was all the more interesting from the fact that General Grant was supposed to have cherished anything but a feeling of love for the late Secretary of State, ever since the celebrated question of veracity in which Mr. Seward took the side of President Johnson." . . .

It is to be noted that Dana went out of his way to add:

. . . "For our own part, notwithstanding our sympathies are with the Greeley wing, we are not going to complain because such a jolly veteran as Moses H. Grinnell has got a good thing. He is a splendid specimen of a New York merchant prince, and we do not question that he will leave the

collectorship, four or eight years hence, with his popularity undiminished." [1]

There can be no doubt that this article expressed the real sentiments of Dana; but without reference to his feelings, or to those of the public at the time, the preference given to Grinnell over Dana must from every point of view be regarded as a political mistake, no matter who may have been responsible for it.

It will be recalled that Dana had been charged with unfriendliness to Grant because he had criticised the terms of Lee's capitulation, and had opposed Washburne's bill, passed in 1866, reviving the grade of general for Grant's special benefit. It will also be proper to recall that in taking charge of the *Sun*, some eighteen months later, he had given fair notice to the country that it was to be an independent newspaper, that it would wear no party's collar, that it would discuss both men and measures solely on their merits, and that Grant's first official act as President—the announcement of his cabinet—was not only to surprise the country greatly, but was to put Dana's goodwill rudely to the test. If he had been merely an office-seeker, or willing to use his newspaper for the promotion of his personal interests, he could have remained silent, if he could not have commended the cabinet appointments which so greatly surprised even Grant's most intimate political friends. Taken as a whole, those appointments were a great shock to the party leaders of every grade, and especially so to the Senate, whose advice and consent must be had before the gentlemen named could enter upon their respective duties.

They were: E. B. Washburne, for Secretary of State; A. T. Stewart, for Secretary of the Treasury; John M.

[1] Grinnell served 1869-70, and was succeeded by Thomas Murphy.

Schofield, holding over as Secretary of War; Jacob D. Cox, Secretary of the Interior; Adolph E. Borie, Secretary of the Navy; John A. J. Creswell, Postmaster-General; E. Rockwood Hoar, Attorney-General.

With the exception of Washburne, the list contained not a single name that any newspaper or political organization had ever suggested or, so far as known, had ever thought of for a Cabinet position, but, as has already been shown Washburne's appointment was temporary, and merely for the purpose of giving him prestige. As a matter of fact, he held office but a few days, when he was succeeded by Hamilton Fish, who had been so long absent from active public life that he was almost forgotten. Dana alone had remembered and mentioned him as a fit man for the Treasury Department, but he was completely unknown to the country at large, and Dana's mention of him attracted but little attention at the time.

The nominations of Stewart and Borie were received with amazement. They were both merchants, entirely without experience in official life. Neither had ever held even the most insignificant office. Stewart was at the time the greatest merchant in the country, if not in the world; but, as he was largely engaged in the importing trade, he was absolutely disqualified from holding the office by a statute which had been long upon the books. It is not strange that Grant, a simple soldier, should have been ignorant of the law, which the newspapers, if not the senators, made haste to bring to his attention, but, instead of withdrawing the appointment at once, the President committed a still greater blunder by asking Congress to repeal the law. As this request was received with disfavor, the nomination of Stewart was after a few days reluctantly withdrawn, and that of George S. Boutwell was substituted for it.

But if Stewart's name was received with amazement,

Borie's was received with ill-concealed contempt. He was a most amiable and benevolent person, not even engaged in active business. He was a loyal and, to the extent of very limited abilities, a trustworthy gentleman, who knew absolutely nothing about any department of the government, least of all about the navy. Recognizing this, it was speedily made known that Admiral Porter had been, or would be, detailed as his principal assistant; but, instead of mending matters, this made them worse. Borie accepted the office and entered upon his duties; but when it became generally known that both he and Stewart had been liberal contributors to the fund for the purchase of a house for General Grant, and that the general's acquaintance with them dated from that purely personal transaction, the outcry became so great that Borie was presently forced to resign. His place was filled by George M. Robeson, an inconspicuous citizen of Camden, New Jersey, whose management of the department finally brought serious discredit upon the administration.

Doubtless in ignorance of the fact that the appointment was only temporary, Dana spoke of Washburne for the Department of State with unqualified approval. He characterized him as an experienced legislator "of vigorous, masculine intellect" and "thorough American feeling," who would surely maintain "the honor and the interests of our country in the momentous debates then pending with Great Britain and other foreign powers."

With the understanding that Schofield would soon be replaced as Secretary of War by General Rawlins, Dana made haste to say of the latter:

> . . . "No better man can be found for that office or any other. Able, original, true, and brave, there are few Americans of higher moral and intellectual worth than he."

This was followed by an appreciative estimate of Hoar's high qualities as a gentleman, a lawyer, and a judge. This was followed by the prophetic statement that

. . . "this is a working and not an ornamental cabinet. It contains a great deal of business faculty and comparatively little experience in the art and science of politics. We may be sure of one thing, however, and that is that there will be no conflict either of views or of ambition between its members and their chief."

And so it turned out. Such of the first cabinet, as well as their successors, as had views of their own, or had manifested any noticeable degree of independence, were forced after a shorter or longer probation to throw up their positions and return to private life.

It is not germane to this narrative to discuss Grant's cabinet further at present. It is sufficient at this time to say that it was generally regarded as a chance body chosen rather for personal than political reasons. So far as can now be ascertained, it was not approved as a whole by a single newspaper, either Republican, Democratic, or independent, in the United States, but it was widely and generally disapproved. Dana's criticism was neither more harsh nor more unfriendly than that of his contemporaries. They were greatly disappointed with the cabinet as a whole; and when Grant proposed that Stewart should be relieved of the legal disabilities which excluded him from the Treasury, they generally concurred with Dana, not only in pronouncing the proposal to be a mistake, but in holding that the law which interdicts from the Treasury every person engaged in trade, and every dealer in public securities, was wise and salutary. While this was the independent view of the matter, it was doubtless distasteful to the thick-and-thin supporters of the administration,

if not to Grant in person. Although Dana followed it by the commendation of Alonzo B. Cornell's appointment to the office of Surveyor of the Port as "one of perfect fitness," and by hearty praise of the President for recalling the order by which he had placed the administration of the army and the military bureaus under the general-in-chief, and returned it to the Secretary of War, where the law puts it, the other newspapers, and especially the *Tribune*, were swift to attribute Dana's criticism, mild as it was, to personal disappointment.

While Dana ridiculed this imputation, he held inflexibly to the independent course he had adopted. He declared Sherman to be an honest man, but did not hesitate to say that his acceptance of one hundred thousand dollars, with which to buy a home in Washington, made it undesirable that he should be placed in charge of business which was of such great concern to the army contractors.

On March 29th Dana questioned the *Tribune's* prediction that Grant's administration would be a "splendid" one, but this seems to have been little more than a verbal criticism based upon the fact that "the government is run mainly by Congress," and that "there have not been any splendid administrations." But on April 1st the *Sun* contained an article of far greater importance, urging that Borie should quit the Navy Department for reasons

. . . "which are very simple but very strong.

"In the first place, he is unable to do the duties of the office, [although] Admiral Porter has been assigned to assist him.

"In the second place, he is a pecuniary benefactor of General Grant. He has given the general money; he was a large contributor towards the purchase of a house in Philadelphia, worth some fifty thousand dollars, which was presented to the general. Mr. Borie has got himself into this false position, hurtful to himself, still more hurtful to General Grant, and most of all hurtful to the dignity and the welfare of the

country, without sufficiently reflecting upon the grave and pregnant error he was committing."

Dana drove this criticism home a few weeks later by the question, "Is there a man in this country who believes that, if Mr. Boric had been a poor man and unable to contribute money to General Grant in Philadelphia, he would to-day have been at the Navy Department?" Of course, such language was distasteful to those concerned. It was certainly based upon a higher ideal of public life than seems to have prevailed in Washington at that time and afterwards, but that General Grant himself seriously objected to the first part of it, at least, is far from being apparent. If he had any feeling about it at all, it was doubtless one of approval rather than disapproval, for two weeks later he sent Dana's nomination to the Senate as appraiser of merchandise at the New York custom-house. The *Tribune* announced this appointment in terms of mock exultation, to which Dana replied the next day in an editorial introducing an official letter which he had received from Secretary Boutwell, with whom he was on terms of personal friendship. It was dated at the Treasury Department, April 14, 1869, and runs as follows:

"You will have heard of your nomination as appraiser—an office for which probably you have neither taste nor inclination, and which, regarding your own claims only, should not have been tendered you, and yet I hope you will not decline it. It is the point on which our success in collecting the customs revenues turns, and I know of no place in which you can render so efficient aid to the government.

"If you accept, as I sincerely hope you will, I shall esteem it a personal favor, and you may count on my constant support."

Dana's reply is an excellent illustration of his style, as well as of his independence and his views of public

duty. It is dated, "*Sun* Office, April 17, 1869," and is here inserted in full:

"Your unexpected favor of the 14th instant was duly received. It would have been more speedily answered but for the personal request with which it closes. In these days of corruption in high places as well as low places, no upright citizen ought hastily to refuse such a request; but, after due consideration, I find myself constrained to decline this mark of esteem and confidence. I beg you, however, to believe that this is not done from either of the reasons you suggest. Having been educated to commercial pursuits, the office is not repugnant to my tastes; and as for serving the government at some sacrifice of my own interests and convenience, I trust that during the past few years I have sufficiently proved my readiness to do it. But I already hold an office of responsibility as the conductor of an independent newspaper, and I am persuaded that to abandon it or neglect it for the functions you offer me would be to leave a superior duty for one of much less importance. Nor is it certain that I cannot do more to help you in the pure and efficient administration of the Treasury Department by remaining here and denouncing and exposing political immorality than I could as appraiser by the most zealous effort to insure the faithful and honest collection of the customs."

This incident was much commented upon by the *Sun's* contemporaries, one of which charged that Dana had turned on Grant and his administration for the reason that he had not been appointed collector. So far as I know, he was never an applicant for that or any other office. The action which I had taken with General Rawlins in his behalf was entirely on my own responsibility, in the interest of General Grant and his administration, and in the conviction that the appointment was one in every way fit to be made. I felt that Dana was entitled to it, by both his military and his political services, and that

it would prove advantageous to the country at large, as well as to the Treasury. Rawlins fully concurred in this opinion.

But without regard to the cause or motive by which Dana's policy as editor of the *Sun* was controlled, it turned out that henceforth he found much in the current action of the administration to condemn, and that this condemnation interested the public at large, however distasteful it may have been to the office-holders and the men "inside of politics." Within two months a breach had occurred, which by the end of six had become impassable. Dana's absolute independence was now an important factor in the discussions of the day, and, while many conservative and prudent people did not hesitate to say that he was going too far and becoming entirely too personal in his criticisms, the circulation of the paper increased rapidly, and its revenues kept pace with its circulation. Borie resigned on June 26th, but that did not change Dana's course. In July Grant took the *Tallapoosa*, a naval vessel, for his private use, and this was disapproved by the *Sun*. Although the President is the constitutional commander-in-chief of the army and navy, this act was regarded as an innovation on the practice of his predecessors. It has since come to be a common custom, and now passes without special comment.

Later in the month the *Sun* called for a mass-meeting to denounce the shooting of American citizens by the Spanish authorities in Cuba, without trial. It had already expressed the opinion that the administration was too lenient towards the Spanish government, and "should retrace its steps." It had severely commented upon Grant's acceptance of a gift of land in New Jersey, and in August it criticised him for

> . . . "the corrupting and demoralizing practice of giving office in return for presents, his fatal disregard of law, his petty for-

eign policy, and his deplorable failure to represent the sentiment and to promote the manifest destiny of the country."

This was preceded by a severe condemnation of United States Marshal Barlow for resisting his own arrest, under the advice of the President, who had written him a personal letter authorizing and requesting him to defy the processes and officers of the State courts, no matter under what pretext they might assume to act.

In September of that year a conspiracy was formed by men both inside and outside of Wall Street to raise the price of gold, whereupon the *Sun* called upon the Treasury Department "to block the game of this unscrupulous ring," and this was done, mainly through the President's own intervention, on what came to be known as "Black Friday." The story of that memorable day, involving as it did many distinguished names, has never been fully told, but one of its consequences was to call forth a letter from General Grant to Robert Bonner, which was widely published and commented upon. In its issue of October 16th, the *Sun*, after praising the President for writing it, "as one of the most sensible things he had ever done," declared:

. . . "This letter disposes of the efforts to involve General Grant with the gold conspirators. He had no more to do with the gold speculation than any other innocent man, except that he ordered gold sold, and thus broke the ring. The plans of the conspirators to involve General Grant, and thus to make their own fortune or ruin his reputation, were very skilful and adroit, but his plain, straightforward letter scatters them all to the winds. The whole country will believe General Grant, and will regard his letter with satisfaction."

This clear and unequivocal commendation was never recalled. When it is considered in connection with many other utterances to the same effect, it shows beyond ques-

tion that Dana regarded Grant always as an honest man. It is interesting to note, however, that in commenting a few days later upon the appointment of a successor to the Assistant Treasurer of the United States, who had been removed for complicity in the gold conspiracy, the *Sun* declared that "no man can be appointed who has made donations of money, houses, horses, or anything else to General Grant."

And this declaration was emphasized by the fact that after Grinnell's removal was called for, on account of the prevalence of frauds in the custom-house, it was discovered that he had also been one of the contributors to the fund for the benefit of General Grant.

The death of General Rawlins, which took place September 9, 1869, removed from the office of Secretary of War not only a very able man,[1] but a most fearless and devoted friend to General Grant. The loss was an irreparable one, for while Rawlins had been in no way consulted in the make-up of the cabinet, he was the only man in it, with the exception of General Cox, specially noted for independence of character, or who had known General Grant intimately from his obscure beginnings to the end of the war. Every other member of it made his acquaintance after the war was over, and all naturally thought that a man who had been so great a general must necessarily be also a great statesman. At all events, they seemed to act on this theory. Those of them, like Fish, who had no views in opposition to those of the President, held their places to the end, while those like Cox and Hoar of the first lot, and like Bristow and Jewell of a later date, who had views of their own, sooner or later found themselves forced to resign.

The appointment of Belknap, a soldier of excellent edu-

[1] See Schofield, *Forty-six Years in the Army*, pp. 323, 420, 421.

cation and of fair abilities, although without experience in politics, was well received by the country and the disbanded volunteer army. Dana, who had known him during the Vicksburg campaign, commended it, but rather on account of the independence Belknap had shown towards a kinsman of Grant's living in Iowa, who had claimed to control the internal-revenue appointments for that State, than for any special fitness for a cabinet position. While Belknap was technically an excellent Secretary of War, his career was unfortunately closed by scandal and impeachment, under circumstances that the *Sun*, in common with the independent and opposition newspapers throughout the country, did not fail to denounce.

Although Dana had come to be an unsparing critic of the administration before the end of its first year, he did not fail to praise the President whenever an opportunity presented itself. He specially commended him for adopting Secretary Seward's policy of purchasing Haiti and acquiring Santo Domingo. He also praised the President's views on the currency question as "sound and statesmanlike," while on the other hand he criticised him severely for advocating the renewal of the income tax, which had been passed as a war measure with a specific declaration on the part of Congress that it should continue till 1870, and "no longer." Dana regarded this as a species of repudiation, alike injurious to the government and the business of the country. Somewhat later the *Sun* came out strongly against the nomination of Hoar, of Massachusetts and of the cabinet, for a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court, for the circuit formerly represented by Justice Wayne, of Georgia. While it could say nothing against the eminent fitness of Hoar, it opposed his confirmation on account of his locality, and pronounced the appointment as "one of the most repugnant cases of carpet-bag-ism which had marked the era of reconstruc-

tion." The Republican Senate appears to have agreed with the *Sun*, for it rejected the nomination with no excuse and but little delay. About this time the *Sun* condemned Fish for permitting his son-in-law to be counsel for the Spanish government, and for not stopping the war against Cuba. It contended that the United States, within "five years after the abolition of slavery at home," were permitting themselves "to be used to fasten slavery and the slave-trade anew upon the people of Cuba." While the *Sun* from the first favored the annexation of Santo Domingo by honorable means, it came out in January, 1870, against "the consummation of the iniquitous scheme . . . without the honest consent of the Dominican people," and raised a warning voice against "the visit of the President to the Senate's anteroom, to influence its action in favor of the Dominican Treaty," as establishing a dangerous precedent.

XXV

EPOCH OF PUBLIC CORRUPTION

Dana favors "Continental Union"—Breach between Sumner and President—Condemns bestowal of office for pecuniary favors—Grant's relations in office—Ku-Klux outrages no excuse for invading the South—French arms scandal—Corruption in Washington—"Addition, Division, and Silence"—Dana arrested—Crédit Mobilier exposures—Independent Republicans and Democrats nominate Greeley for president—Dana supports him—Personal journalism—Grant's second election—Effort to extradite Dana to Washington—Safe Burglary Conspiracy—Frauds of the Whiskey Ring

It was during the first year of Grant's administration that Dana began to discuss the annexation of the British provinces of North America. He pointed out that Britain could not defend those colonies successfully against us; that free and unrestricted trade between them and the United States was necessary to their greatest prosperity; that the Reciprocity Treaty, which had lately expired, could not be re-enacted; that while it had carried the colonies prosperously along for ten years, it had aroused their hostility instead of conciliating them, and had been followed by an armed federation against us. Later he showed that an honorable union with us would settle the fisheries and fur-seal questions; abolish the custom-houses; extend the area of free-trade; insure free navigation of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes; enable the government to enforce the exclusion act, to protect our land and water transportation interests, to perfect the national defence, and to realize by peaceable and inexpensive means all the advantages of that continental republic which both nature

and political expediency seem to have favored from the first.

Throughout life Dana remained the champion of that great idea. He opened his newspaper for its discussion when ever occasion offered. Philosopher, historian, and statesman were alike welcome to its columns, if only they promised to advocate the great cause of "Continental Union." Nor can there be any doubt that he thought the end of the Civil War presented a rare opportunity for the settlement of the *Alabama* claims in a way which would greatly promote our permanent and paramount interests. It is not too much to say that he preferred annexation, even if it should be necessary to carry it into effect by force, to the settlement made by the Treaty of Washington. And yet his opposition to the Babcock-Baez Treaty for the acquisition of Santo Domingo, and the practical alliance which grew up between the *Sun* and the powerful group of senators who arrayed themselves against that measure, and finally defeated it, were the most potent influence in turning Grant, with all the power of the government back of him, against his own favorite policy of annexing Canada, and thus settling the *Alabama* claims and getting rid of a dangerous neighbor forever.[1]

The immediate effect of the combined opposition to the Santo Domingo Treaty was to make an impassable breach between Senator Sumner, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and the President. Thereafter it was only necessary for Sumner and his friends to support a measure to make it certain that Grant and his friends would oppose it. Sumner resisted the annexation of Santo Domingo, but favored the annexation of Canada and the neighboring provinces. From that time forth Grant did all in his power to override the opposition and to carry

[1] See *Treaty of Washington*, by Charles Francis Adams.

his own measures through. To that end he gave his fullest support to Fish's plans for a settlement with England, and had the pleasure not only of seeing the haughty and recalcitrant Sumner deposed by his fellow-senators from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations, but also of seeing the treaty of arbitration negotiated, approved, and carried into effect. On the other hand, the senatorial group, aided by the *Sun*, after a long and bitter struggle, succeeded in defeating the annexation of Santo Domingo, largely because of the taint of corruption which had been fixed upon the treaty, and its negotiation as well, as of the questionable methods by which its friends had sought to secure its ratification. This was one of the bitterest controversies of the times, and brought upon Dana the intense displeasure of the administration and its supporters; but on the whole it strengthened him with the people, and to-day it would be difficult to find an intelligent man anywhere to blame him for the independent and effective part he took in the discussion.

Late in October, 1870, Dana replied fully to the charge that he had not treated Grant fairly in the columns of the *Sun*, and in justifying his course he contended that the system of bestowing office upon those who had conferred pecuniary favors upon the President was "a shocking innovation upon all the former practices and traditions of the country"; that in giving utterance to these feelings "the *Sun* had expressed the feelings of the whole American people," and that no serious effort had ever been made in any quarter "to controvert the views of the *Sun* on this subject."

Again he contended that Grant's foreign policy,

> . . . "by its weakness, indecision, want of character, and anti-American sympathies, stood forth in glaring contrast with the vigorous sentiments and statesman-like promises

of his inaugural address; and the whole American people, bitterly disappointed, changed their feelings towards the President from one of admiration to one of regret and pity. This new feeling was plainly declared by the *Sun*, and nowhere has there been any serious attempt either to deny its existence or to dispute its justice."

Finally he declared that, in censuring the President when he deserved it, he had not compelled himself to acquiesce in every charge made against him, whether true or false. When a concentrated effort had been made to implicate him in the gold speculations, the *Sun* took a judicial view of all the known facts in connection with the President's own testimony and his letter to Bonner, and had not only frankly expressed the opinion that there was nothing in the case inconsistent with his innocence, but had declared its genuine satisfaction that such was the fact. A few days later it enumerated twenty-four of Grant's relatives who were then holding office, and within a week gave him hearty praise for recommending the abolition of the income tax. It admonished him that in surrounding a political convention with soldiers, in order to exclude citizens who were opposed to his renomination, he was menacing the liberties of the people. It cautioned him that in making the Ku-Klux outrages an excuse for invading the South with the armed forces of the country he was exceeding his constitutional authority. It lost no opportunity to denounce public corruption and public robbery. It cried out with "damnable iteration" against political fraud, bribery, and present-taking, whether by Republicans or Democrats, by municipal or federal office-holders, as a serious menace to our free institutions. It spared neither high nor low in its denunciations. It scored Robeson's corruption in the Navy Department and Tweed's spoliation of the city treasury with equal impartiality and equal severity.

On February 17, 1872, the *Sun* published a leading editorial in which it stated that the nation was now "passing through an epoch of public corruption without precedent in its history, and almost without precedent in the history of free governments." In support of this generalization, it alluded to the frauds of the Tammany Democrats and the political revolution that had followed their detection. But, great as they were, they sank into insignificance, "not only beside those of the carpet-bag governments of the South, but still more beside those committed by the Republican administration at Washington." It charged the Republican party and the Republican journals with stifling inquiry and concealing the magnitude and enormity of these crimes. It called attention to Senator Sumner's resolution of inquiry into the sale of arms and ammunition by the War Department to France, to be used in the war against Germany. It alleged that "millions of money had been made" by high officials and persons connected with the administration, and that those who were implicated were seeking refuge "in a committee which had been packed to hide the truth and to whitewash instead of detect and punish the guilty." It declared that this had been done in the Black Friday and custom-house investigations; that a resolution to investigate a deficit of six millions in the stamps of the Internal Revenue Department had been defeated; that the facts of the case had been suppressed; and that the truth had been successfully concealed in many instances.

In this article the *Sun* declared that the frauds of the bosses in the District of Columbia "surpassed in greed and boldness" those of Tweed and his confederates in New York; that the Postmaster-General had corruptly participated in the notorious Chorpenning claim against the Post-Office Department, and in the Baltimore whiskey frauds against the internal revenue; that the Navy De-

partment, in the purchase of machinery and supplies, as well as in the repair of vessels, had become "a sink of corruption." Charging the majority with complicity, it dared Congress to allow a full and searching investigation of the robberies which it had specified, and which it did not doubt would turn out to be robberies indeed.

In conclusion the editor expressed his personal conviction that the President himself was primarily responsible for the corruption of the public service, and that he had

> . . . "done more to destroy in the public mind all distinction between right and wrong, to make it appear that the great object of life and the chief purpose of official authority is to acquire riches, and that it makes no difference by what means this object is attained. Had Grant been a pure man of high moral sense, a delicate feeling of honesty, and a just conscience, his example, his influence, and his power would long since have sufficed to turn back the rising tide of corruption and to rescue the government from the dangerous evils with which it was struggling."

It is to be noted that this terrible arraignment is entirely at variance with Dana's commendation of Grant as a military man. It was followed almost immediately by the first public denunciation of the "Whiskey Ring," which, with its widely extended system of frauds at the distilleries and warehouses throughout the country, cost the government untold millions before it could be broken up. It was a period of exposure. Public opinion was becoming so aroused and inflamed that Congress felt compelled to intervene. The House of Representatives could no longer hold out against the whirlwind of indignation, and hence made haste to appoint a committee for the investigation of the Navy Department. Although this, as it turned out, was an effective step towards reform, it did not at once silence those who were thus brought to the

bar of public opinion. They and their confederates, like the harpies of Tammany, thought the storm would soon "blow over," and, instead of putting their houses in order, they set about organizing a campaign of hatred and resentment against Dana and the *Sun*. In this they invoked the aid of the federal courts to punish the editor for offences which, if offences at all, were offences against the laws of the State in which they were committed.

It was on June 20, 1872, that the *Sun* published a letter containing a phrase that was everywhere hailed as the shibboleth of corruption. It runs as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA,
HARRISBURG, *March*, 1867.

"MY DEAR TITIAN,—Allow me to introduce to you my particular friend Mr. George O. Evans. He has a claim of some magnitude that he wishes you to help him in. Put him through as you would me. He understands Addition, Division, and Silence. Yours,

"W. H. KEMBLE.

"To TITIAN J. COFFEY, Esq.,
Washington, D. C."

The writer was State treasurer at the time, but was convicted in 1880 of trying to bribe members of the Pennsylvania legislature, and served a year in the penitentiary for his offence. His "particular friend" was a defaulter.

The suggestive and comprehensive formula used in this letter needed no interpretation. Everybody understood it, and the press gave it the widest circulation, but the man who phrased it was a bold and fearless professional office-holder that could see no wrong in the words or in the use he had made of them. To the contrary, regarding them as innocent, and the connection of his name with them in an opposite sense as constituting a criminal libel, he sued out a writ against Dana, and had him arrested as he was passing through Philadelphia and put under bond

for fifteen thousand dollars. This kept the phrase before the public, and for months it was used by the newspapers of the country, and especially by the *Sun*, with telling effect in the campaign against fraud and corruption. Indeed, it may well be doubted if any catch phrase ever received a wider circulation, more aptly indicated the essential shamelessness of the methods then in force at Washington, or did more to arouse the public conscience against them. While still fresh in the public mind, the Crédit Mobilier exposures began, and, involving as they did men of the highest position in both public and private life, they gave a degree of infamy to the formula of fraud which no amount of moral teaching or of decorous discussion could have brought upon it.

Meanwhile the movement of the Independent and disaffected Republicans, of which the *Sun* was the head, had grown into a powerful party organization, which called a national convention, in which many distinguished men took part. It nominated Horace Greeley for president, and B. Gratz Brown for vice-president. These nominations were afterwards adopted by the Democrats, on a platform which was based largely on the *Sun's* war against corruption in official life at Washington. When stripped of political verbiage, it meant nothing more nor less than "Turn the rascals out." With this cry, which soon came to be more widely heard than "Forward to Richmond" had ever been, Dana threw the *Sun* and himself into the canvass, and for a few weeks it looked as though the North, as well as the South, would take him at his word. He, and those who stood with him, believed thoroughly in the necessity of taking the government out of the hands of the Republican party, as well as in the honesty and capacity of Greeley, and spared no effort to make the country believe in him as well; but as the canvass progressed it became evident that the majority of the voters were un-

willing to trust either the candidate or the men who, in case of his election, would naturally become his advisers. It was too close to the Civil War, and too many of its issues yet remained to be settled and disposed of, for the country to intrust the Democratic party with the control of the government. Greeley was generally admitted to be entirely honest, but he was also fantastic and easily imposed upon. The ultra-Democrats, who would have contributed the majority of votes, would have claimed, and, according to precedent, would have received, the majority of the federal offices. In short, it was widely believed that the election of Greeley would put the old secessionists, with all their heresies, in power; and, on the sober second thought, the country was not willing to agree to this. Besides, there seemed to be an element of quixotism not only in the candidate but in the influence that secured his nomination. He had up to the close of the war been regarded with hatred by the Southerners as a radical abolitionist, and although, as soon as the war was over, he had become the exponent of forgiveness and amnesty, thus winning their hearts, there were still thousands on both sides of the line who could not realize that the union between Greeley and the Democrats was genuine and enduring.

It has been suggested that Dana's earlier advocacy of the "Philosopher of the *Tribune*" began in a spirit of fun, and that it could not be sincere, and that the campaign for his election was hopeless from the start. To this Dana paid but little attention till after the campaign had ended in Greeley's defeat and death.

To such as look below the surface, Dana's course at this time appears to have been not only genuine and disinterested, but exceedingly useful to the country at large. In the light of subsequent events, it must be conceded that it was significantly vindicated by the Independent Repub-

lican movement, which not only selected Greeley, whom Dana had first nominated, but compelled the Democratic party to select him also, and to adopt a policy on which it ultimately went into power. While the movement at first was defeated at the ballot-box, the *Sun's* part in it received an amount of non-partisan and even of Republican approval that has rarely ever been accorded to independent journalism.

Ignoring with his accustomed indifference the efforts of the Republican press to put him personally on the defensive after the campaign was ended, Dana said in the *Sun* of December 6, 1872:

"A great deal of twaddle is uttered by some country newspapers just now over what they call personal journalism. They say that now that Mr. Bennett, Mr. Raymond, and Mr. Greeley are dead, the day for personal journalism is gone by, and that impersonal journalism will take its place. That appears to mean a sort of journalism in which nobody will ask who is the editor of a paper or the writer of any class of article, and nobody will care.

"Whenever, in the newspaper profession, a man rises up who is original, strong, and bold enough to make his opinions a matter of consequence to the public, there will be personal journalism; and whenever newspapers are conducted only by commonplace individuals whose views are of no consequence to anybody, there will be nothing but impersonal journalism.

"And this is the essence of the whole question."

Looking back upon Grant's second election, it is now evident that while the country, with an awakened conscience, was in hearty sympathy with Dana's desire to see the public service cleansed of fraud and corruption, it preferred to continue the Republicans in power with a mandate to punish their own rascals, rather than to turn

the government over to Greeley and the secession Democrats. While no one can say positively what would have been the result of a reform administration at that time, assisted as it must have been by Senators Trumbull and Schurz, besides many other Independent Republicans of importance, it may now be plausibly contended that the country acted wisely in re-electing Grant, instead of trying a dangerous experiment. And this view of the case will appear all the more reasonable when it is recalled that, in spite of much work which yet remained to be done to "turn the rascals out," the Republican administration, and public life generally, had come to be pretty well purified by the end of Grant's second term. To this no one contributed more than Dana.

While the country's decision, not to intrust its government in the hands of the Democratic party, had silenced its leaders or consigned them to secondary positions in Congress or elsewhere, fortunately it had not silenced the independent press. The *Sun,* ably seconded by the Chicago *Tribune,* the leading Republican newspaper of the Northwest, and by the Springfield *Republican,* the most influential journal of New England, continued its campaign against fraud and corruption with unflagging zeal and undaunted courage. Its columns contained not only a daily epitome of the world's history, but of the history of the United States as well. No important event in politics, or in the practical administration of municipal, State, or national government, escaped its notice or its comment. The *Sun* had now become the most widely read and widely quoted journal of the country. Its daily circulation had passed far beyond a hundred thousand copies. It had become famous, not only for its unsparing criticism of every class of public act and deed that it did not approve, but for the vigor and clearness of its style. "Boil it down"—state it in the fewest possible words—had come to be the rule which

governed its writers. The blue pencil was constantly in the hand of its editor, who used it with unsurpassed skill and effect upon the compositions of its ablest contributors. It was everywhere and peculiarly the favorite journal of reading and thinking men, and yet its uncompromising and aggressive opposition to the administration and to the questionable acts of the office-holders had estranged many important persons in both public and private life. Several of Dana's oldest and dearest friends—cherished associates of Brook Farm and of the *Tribune* staff—had terminated all relations with him.

It was at or about this time that one of his most intimate friends of the war days, thinking that he was carrying his criticism of Grant, his cabinet, and his official assistants too far, ventured to remonstrate with him in their behalf, but without effect. Dana listened patiently, and, when his friend had finished, replied earnestly and impressively:

"I am not unmindful of what you say, nor of the good opinions of my friends, and my motives may not be as good as I think they are, but, having taken my course conscientiously, I shall follow it to the end, and shall be content with your judgment six years from now."

And thus it was always. Self-centred, alert, industrious, and fearless, he took every precaution and incurred every necessary expense to learn the truth, and, once having satisfied himself, he exposed, commented, and condemned with absolute independence and unsparing determination to drag the offender and his wrong-doing into the full light of day. He believed that publicity was the greatest safeguard against the crimes of political life, and spared neither time nor money in his efforts to lay them bare and hold their perpetrators up to public execration.

In the year 1873 an incident occurred in connection with

the *Sun* which will be forever memorable in the history of the American press, and which gave to Dana unequalled prominence as the fearless champion of its freedom. The administration and some of its friends, who had come under the special criticism of the *Sun*, resolved to silence it, and to that end resorted to an unusual and extreme exercise of despotic power to compel him to answer in Washington for what he had said in New York.

It is needless to say that Dana resisted this scheme with all the resources at his command. He employed able counsel, and, thanks to the deeply founded provisions of the law, to the almost universal support of the newspapers, and to the decision of Justice Blatchford, of the national judiciary, the case against him was dismissed in an opinion which declared that the vicious plan to make newspapers criticising the administration answerable at Washington could not be tolerated. This was undoubtedly one of the greatest episodes of Dana's life, and, without reference to the merits of the case against him, his part in it must be set down as a public service of the highest value and importance.

During the whole of this year, and, indeed, ever afterwards, as occasion seemed to call for it, the *Sun* kept Kemble's formula of corruption—"He understands Addition, Division, and Silence"—before the public. It exposed and denounced the Crédit Mobilier gang, the Washington Ring, the Louisiana carpet-baggers, the Central Pacific contractors, the congressional "salary grab," and the plan for the annexation of Santo Domingo. It opposed the confirmation of Caleb Cushing and George H. Williams for the Supreme Court of the United States, and had the pleasure of seeing their names withdrawn. It denounced the weakness and incompetency of Richardson as Secretary of the Treasury, the corruption of Creswell as Postmaster-General, and of Robeson as Secretary of the Navy. It

held up to public scorn the name of Oakes Ames, for distributing gratuitously the stock of the Crédit Mobilier, which had made enormous profits out of the construction of the Union Pacific Railway, and exposed such members of Congress and other public men by name as had accepted that stock in exchange for their votes and friendly offices. The revelations in this case constituted one of the most shameless scandals of our political history. They stained the character of one congressman, who lived it down and afterwards became President of the United States, and of another who became vice-president. They saddened the lives of more than one senator, and of many representatives who had no such ambition, but would have been content to remain in obscurity to the end of their days, if thereby they could have avoided the consciousness of their own unworthiness and retained the respect of their fellow-citizens.

But the Crédit Mobilier, involving as it did men of the highest prominence and influence, was only the first, not the vilest nor the most wide-spread, scandal of the day. It was followed, and in a measure dwarfed, by the Safe Burglary Conspiracy and the frauds of the Whiskey Ring.

The first, it may be briefly stated, involved federal officials of the District of Columbia and a member of the President's official household who was also superintendent of public buildings. The conspiracy had for its object the ruin of a highly respected private citizen of Washington through an effort to implicate him in a sham robbery of the assistant district-attorney's safe by a gang of professional burglars hired for that purpose. The rascals were to take certain accounts connected with city contracts, which would be found therein, to the house of one Columbus Alexander, who had called for their production in court, and, while placing them in his house apparently as his agent, he was to be arrested with them and haled off

to prison. Fortunately the rascals bungled and delayed their work to a later hour than was intended, and, still more fortunately, neither Alexander nor his family could be wakened, and accordingly avoided the trap set for them. The burglars themselves were, however, arrested, and, although they were released on straw-bail, in due time the conspiracy was fully exposed. The newspapers, and particularly the *Sun*, made an outcry which not only aroused the country from end to end, but forced the Congress to order an investigation.

The preliminary facts of the case were gathered by a committee charged with that duty, but, as it could not end its work before the end of the session, the House of Representatives required the secretary to complete it. He in turn delegated it to the solicitor of the Treasury. These men, Benjamin H. Bristow and Bluford Wilson, had only recently taken office, but, fearing nothing, they set resolutely about their disagreeable task, and in due time laid bare the almost incredible details and put the machinery in motion which brought the principals to trial. Although the immediate ends of justice were defeated through the verdict of a packed jury, subsequent confessions and revelations brought the culprits to disgrace, from which they were never able to escape.[1]

The Whiskey Ring was a corrupt combination for defrauding the Treasury of the excise levied by law on distilled spirits. It doubtless had its origin in the need for money with which to pay the expense of national elections, though individual distillers and collectors had probably conspired to make "crooked whiskey" soon after the first act of Congress was passed providing for the collection of internal revenue. Honest distillers were the first to com-

[1] For a complete account of the Safe Burglary Conspiracy, see an article by the late General Henry V. Boynton, in the *American Law Review* for April, 1877, pp. 401–446.

plain; but, as the frauds grew in extent, the receipts of the Treasury fell off, and efforts more or less spasmodic and ill-directed were made to detect and punish the offenders, but the real task of bringing them to justice and enforcing the law fell upon Secretary Bristow and Solicitor Wilson. They were not long in discovering that the ring was national in extent, that its headquarters and chief support were in Washington, and that its active operations were carried on in St. Louis, Chicago, Louisville, Milwaukee, St. Joseph, Peoria, Evansville, New Orleans, San Francisco, and many smaller places. It was composed of distillers, rectifiers, wholesale dealers, supervisors, collectors, and deputy collectors of internal revenue, gaugers, store-keepers, and various private persons, including the chief clerk of the Treasury and many petty officials, of whom, counting big and little, two hundred and thirty-eight were indicted and a large number were convicted and punished by fine and imprisonment. Something over three million dollars worth of property and taxes were recovered, but no estimate was ever made of the revenue out of which the government was defrauded from first to last. It must have reached many millions in the aggregate, but the prosecutions were so vigorously conducted by the distinguished lawyers that were called to the assistance of the government that the frauds were entirely stopped and the principal offenders were safely lodged in the jails and penitentiaries of the country. The chief clerk of the Treasury, who was probably a tool of those who had secured his appointment, was sentenced for two years, but pardoned after he had served only six months. The supervisor of the St. Louis district and his assistant were sentenced for three years, but also pardoned before they had served their full term.

The full history of the Whiskey Ring has never been written, but the newspapers of the day were filled with ac-

counts of the frauds, and of the facts brought out in the trials of those who were indicted for participating in them. The *Sun* was the leader in upholding and encouraging the officers of the law, and in condemning all who sympathized with or doubted the guilt of the accused. Never a day was permitted to pass that it did not denounce the rascals or recount the enormity of their crimes. The Chicago *Tribune*, the Springfield *Republican*, the *Evening Post*, and, indeed, nearly all the papers of the country that pretended to be honest and independent, took part in the discussion. Many leading periodicals, and especially the *North American Review*,[1] not only denounced the ring, but gave accounts of its operations. While the recollection of the events connected with this disgraceful chapter of American history has largely dropped from the public mind, it is safe to say that what there is left of it is a full vindication of the part taken by the independent press in breaking up the ring and bringing its members, great and small, to the punishment or disgrace they so fully deserved.

[1] The *North American Review* for October, 1876, pp. 280–327, contains the fullest history of the Whiskey Ring ever published. It was written by Henry V. Boynton, for many years a leading journalist of Washington.

XXVI

GRANT'S SECOND TERM

Sun leads opposition—Against third term—Dana thanks press for its support—Democrats control House of Representatives—Tilden and Hendricks nominated—Dana against Electoral Commission—Claims Tilden was elected by the ballots in the boxes—W. E. Chandler's letter against overthrow of Packard's government in Louisiana—"No force bill! No negro domination!"—Reduction of regular army—Removal of Southern question from current politics—Against free coinage of silver—Exposes Garfield's connection with Crédit Mobilier—Indifference to dogma—Obituary of George Ripley

THROUGHOUT Grant's second term the *Sun* was the leader of the opposition. Every act of the President or his cabinet was scrutinized, and such of them as did not accord with its views of the public interest were condemned. The Republican congressmen, and especially such as held important positions in connection with the appropriations, the improvements of the city of Washington, the Crédit Mobilier, or the legislation which was intended to permit citizens accused of criminal libel to be arrested and brought to the capital for trial, were severely criticised. They were charged by name with acts of wilful wrong-doing, and the facts of each case were laid before the country with absolute fearlessness. Neither moderation nor mercy was shown to those who neglected the interests with which they were charged: and yet the Secretary of the Treasury was heartily praised for his opposition to the bill for inflating the paper currency, while the President was still more highly praised for vetoing it.

The suggestion of a third term of the presidency for General Grant was heard, for the first time, before his second term was fully under way. It came from office-holders and politicians, and was kept constantly before the country, not only to the end of the term, but till it was finally put to rest four years later at the Chicago convention by the nomination of General Garfield, of Ohio. As the suggestion was at variance with the considerate course of General Washington, when he was offered a third nomination, and with what has since then generally been regarded as the unwritten law of the land, the *Sun* made haste to oppose it, and in doing so brought every argument that it could frame to bear against it. It would be impossible to summarize the discussion, which extended over a period of seven or eight years, but in spite of this the third-term proposition received the support of a large number of the leading Republicans, many of whom Dana had formerly classed as his closest friends. Many other influential newspapers, in the conviction that the precedent would be a bad one, did what they could to defeat it, but Dana led in the fight, and it now seems probable that but for the part he took in it the movement would have been successful. Every possible criticism was brought to bear on the conduct of the public business, whether it related to the use of the army in the work of reconstruction, to the collection of the revenues, to the inflation of the currency, to the current legislation, or to the management of the different executive departments. The summation of every argument was in substance that there was but one vital issue, and that was, "Turn the rascals out," and thus free the country at the same time from chronic corruption and the dangers of a virtual dictatorship.

In returning his thanks to his brethren of the press, through the *Sun*, April 24, 1875, for the support they had given to the principle it had been his fortune to represent

in resisting the subpœna which would have placed him in the hands of the Washington ring, he said:

. . . "It is not alone because it saves us money; it is not alone because it saves us from unlawful imprisonment. Both these dangers we might easily have shunned by declining to print any exposure of the rascalities at Washington. We knowingly and considerately risked our purse and person in laying before the public the malversations in office which were costing the people right heavily. The powers that be made strenuous efforts by perversion of the authority of the court, and abuse of its process, to lay hands upon us. Under these circumstances our chivalric brethren of the press have made our cause their own, and the cause of the country. The journals which have stood with us foremost in the front rank, the *Times*, *Tribune*, *Evening Post*, and *Herald*, in resisting the advance of tyranny, to our dying day we can never forget.

"And so the press rises to the comprehension and assertion of its own dignity and power. And all petty and despicable jealousies and rivalries are buried deep in the strong current of the brotherhood of the press—the brotherhood representation of the rights of the people!

"No newspaper office in the country should be unadorned by the portrait of the independent judge who, in the straight path of judicial duty, has done so much for popular rights. The name of Blatchford should henceforth become a household word, and never be forgotten." . . .

But this was not all that Dana had to say on that subject. While he felt deeply the necessity for cleaning out the rings which were preying upon the substance of the people, he asked, August 18th:

. . . "Would it not be a fatal mistake if, in order to execute justice upon some great public robber like Tweed, we should overturn and destroy those defences of liberty that have cost so much to erect, and whose worth and wisdom centuries of experience have justified?

. . . "No matter what other amendments we may make in our laws, no matter with what unsparing radicalism we may lay the hand of change upon legislation and usages inherited from other times, let us be conservative at least in everything that relates to the defence of liberty and to the sanctity of personal rights."

The election of a majority of Democrats to the House of Representatives at the fall elections of 1874, and the organization of the House by that party the next year, show that the voters of the country had come to the conclusion that the Republicans could not be trusted to expose fraud and reform the public service. The change greatly encouraged Dana in the course he was pursuing. He had been the first to lay bare the Safe Burglary Conspiracy, and to charge that it had been concocted by the Washington ring, planned and carried out by the Secret Service of the Treasury, paid for with public money, and protected by those "high in the confidence of the administration." The *Sun's* statements had been denounced as a calumny by the party organs, but the investigations which had gone to the bottom of the matter, justified that newspaper completely by securing additional testimony which both astounded and appalled the public mind. The facts and circumstances gathered by the committee were recounted from day to day in the columns of the *Sun*, in all their disgraceful details, and were finally set forth triumphantly in its issue of April 12, 1876, as a complete vindication of its course for the entire period of two years, during which it constituted a most absorbing topic of public discussion. It is difficult to realize, after the lapse of thirty years, that the Safe Burglary, the Whiskey Ring, the Crédit Mobilier, and the Post-tradership exposures so completely engrossed the attention of the public press and of the people themselves; but when it is considered that

these great scandals affected the reputation of hundreds of officials of the highest rank, including several members of the cabinet, it will be seen that they were entitled to all the attention they received, and justly became important factors in the presidential election which took place that year.

It will be recalled that Tilden and Hendricks were the candidates of the Democrats, while Hayes and Wheeler were the candidates of the Republicans. The contest was perhaps the sharpest one the country had ever gone through. The issues were again those which had been so largely framed by the independent press of the country, and were so briefly summed up by the *Sun* in its famous cry of "Turn the rascals out." Most of the Southern States were still dominated by the carpet-bag governments, which were in turn upheld by the armed forces of the general government. But the white voters of the South were doing all they could to keep the colored men from the polls and prevent what they called negro domination. In this they were successful to a great extent, especially in Louisiana, which, on the face of the returns, had given a majority to Tilden and Hendricks, and which, if allowed to stand, made their election certain. But under the prompt and vigorous management of the National Executive Committee, the Republicans set up claims which, if sustained, would give to Hayes and Wheeler the vote of the State, together with those of South Carolina and Florida. The exciting discussion which followed throughout the United States, aided by the wide-spread apprehension that the question which had been raised could not be settled without a resort to violence, led to the organization of an Electoral Commission, to which they were referred for decision. This device, although unknown to the Constitution, received the sanction of both houses of Congress and of a number of leading Democrats, including, as many believe, Tilden himself; and the commission was com-

posed of five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, so divided politically that the casting vote rested with Justice Bradley. After careful consideration, the commission made a decision which gave the presidency to Hayes, and doubtless saved the country from an outbreak, or at least from confusion and uncertainty, which might have ended in anarchy and violence.

It is an anomaly of history that while the vote of Louisiana was counted for Hayes, the Republican government of the State, which was instrumental in establishing the charge of fraud, and should have logically stood with the decision, was soon repudiated by the Hayes administration and forced to give place to a government composed mostly of white men.

The *Sun*, having done its utmost to carry the country for Tilden, and having come so close to success, opposed the Electoral Commission from the day it was first suggested till it ceased to exist. It claimed that there was no proper warrant for it, either in law or justice; that Tilden was legally elected by a majority of the votes deposited in the ballot-boxes, and that while many votes may have been wrongfully excluded or wrongfully thrown out after they were received, there was no warrant in law for counting votes not deposited, nor for the assumption that if deposited they would have been in favor of Hayes and Wheeler rather than for Tilden and Hendricks. It contended to the end that "the only real settlement" of the controversy which could satisfy the country would be one giving the office to the man who had been really elected; that the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives, in favoring the Electoral Commission, had committed "official suicide"; and that

. . . "There is no process or method or invention or power

or miracle by which a lie can be made truth or a fraud converted into an honest reality.

. . . "No such settlement of the question can stand. Nothing can stand but the truth!"

It is worthy of record that Dana never changed his mind nor moderated his condemnation of the settlement by which Hayes was made president. He regarded it as a fraud upon the American people, and could never bring himself to speak of it or of the fortunate beneficiary except in terms of contempt, and yet it is to be noted that Hayes not only appointed a cabinet of unexceptionable men, who conducted their departments without a shadow of blame, but gave to the country an administration which restored the control of the Southern States to the Southern people and carried into effect many of the reforms which Dana had so strenuously advocated. Indeed, it introduced a new era in national affairs, free from rings and conspiracies, if not from the intrigues and combinations of the bosses and the politicians.

While the *Sun* never acquiesced in this disposal of the presidency, it tacitly admitted that its special field of official criticism had been materially narrowed by the exemplary conduct of the public business, and yet it continued keenly on the alert in reference to everything that pertained to national politics. While there was no perceptible diminution of its independence, there was a growing sympathy between it and the Democratic party which ultimately led it into inconsistencies that were difficult to reconcile with good judgment or to excuse in the interest of the common weal.

It will be recalled that William E. Chandler, a member of the Republican National Committee from New Hampshire, was one of the first to call attention to the radical departure of President Hayes from the policy his party

had hitherto pursued. He did this in an able statement addressed to the Republicans of his own State, but evidently intended for the people of the United States. It was dated December 26, 1877, and was printed in all the leading journals of the country. It recounted all the measures by which Tilden was deprived of the honors to which many believed him entitled, and pointed out with inexorable logic that Packard's right to the governorship of Louisiana was connected with Hayes's right to the presidency "by titles indissolubly connected in law, in morals, and by every rule of honor that prevails among civilized men." The annals of politics do not contain a fuller or clearer summation of the facts connected with any political episode of American history; and, while it did not directly assail the Electoral Commission, or the justice and wisdom of its action, it was in every essential detail an independent confirmation and indorsement of the contentions put forth in the *Sun*. It is not germane to the purposes of this narrative to summarize further Chandler's extraordinary letter. It has been mentioned here for the sole purpose of emphasizing the statement that Dana was far from being unsupported in the resolute views which he entertained in regard to the antecedent facts and the political complications connected with the Electoral Commission, and for the additional purpose of pointing out that he printed the letter and persistently kept it before his readers as a Republican vindication of his own position.

In connection with the unsatisfactory state of political affairs prevailing throughout the South, Dana's sympathies were clearly with the white people. He recanted none of his principles in reference to slavery, nor to the essential justice and wisdom of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting discriminations against the freedmen on "account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," but it is certain that he had long since become

convinced that the carpet-bag governments, based solely on the support of the colored voters, were not only intrinsically vicious, but that their existence and conduct were in opposition to the true principles of the Constitution and subversive of the best interests of the Southern people. His constant cry, so long as the Federal government undertook, under the authority of Congress, to control the provisional governments or to exercise any supervision whatever over State or federal elections was:

"No force bill! No negro domination!"

It is needless to add that the entire white vote of the South and a majority of the Northern vote supported him most heartily in the position he had taken on this important matter, and finally united in permitting a settlement in substantial accord with this terse and forcible formula. Obviously, if there is injustice in this settlement, it lies in the fact that the Southern people do not acknowledge the colored people as a constituent part of the body politic, and do not apply the principle by which they regulate the right of suffrage with impartiality to both the white and colored people as they should. It was perhaps too early to expect any community in which illiteracy, race prejudice, war memories, and social inefficiency play such an important part as they do in most of our Southern States to adopt a perfect political system.

From the beginning of Grant's second term to the end of Arthur's administration the *Sun* favored the reduction of the regular army to a minimum force of ten or twelve thousand men. Its argument was that, having become one of the richest and strongest nations of the world, and having no dangerous or aggressive neighbors, the United States have no use for a large and expensive army, and that a small one would not only be correspondingly

cheaper, but would afford sufficient support to the national authority to enable it to meet any emergency likely to arise, or in which it would be proper to use force at all. It regarded the continued presence of troops in the South as unnecessary and unwarranted, and contended that the greater the number of armed men at the disposal of the government, the greater the expense and the more powerful would be the temptation to use them in a manner which might prove oppressive to the people.

It is to be observed that Dana never ceased to deprecate the tendency, after the war was over, to call upon the Federal government in every matter thought to be of national importance, instead of depending upon the State authorities, whose special duty in our system of government is to take care of local and domestic interests. In this he was not only a true Democrat, but had the support of many conservative statesmen of all parties from the earliest days of the republic to the present time. Indeed, there was no political controversy on this subject. The only question was as to how many officers and men were absolutely necessary to keep alive the military spirit, maintain order, and take proper care of the fortifications. About this it was easy for the most conservative men to differ. Although the Congress failed to adopt the extreme view of it that Dana advanced, it took good care that the army should never be large enough to create a military class or to menace the rights of the people in any section.

Throughout the administrations of Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur, while there were many important matters of national policy to be discussed, the speedy and, on the whole, the satisfactory removal of the Southern question from current politics left the great newspapers much more time for the consideration of purely social and economic questions than they had had since the close of the war. Dana having had the unusual satisfaction of seeing most

of his views adopted, and the public service in Washington, as well as in New York, relieved from the scandal of jobbery and corruption, by the selection of clean and honest men for office, wasted no time singing paeans of triumph, but settled down to the consideration of important questions of national politics as they arose.

From the start he opposed the effort to increase the use of silver as a money metal by any of the devices brought forward by the politicians or the representatives of the silver-mining interests. He also opposed independent bimetallism on any plan not approved or supported by the entire commercial world. Rich as our country had become, and great as were the resources of its government, he scrutinized all propositions, and still more all legislation, which looked to an independent effort on their part to maintain silver at a parity with gold on an arbitrary basis of relative values. So long as that proposition was a living issue the editorial page of the *Sun* bristled with articles against it, and stood by the sound economic principle that the American standard of value, like that of the commercial world at large, should be gold, and gold alone. As the question of sixteen to one has been settled apparently forever, it would be both unprofitable and tiresome to summarize the arguments, or even to quote such as Dana himself may have formulated from time to time.

With an occasional denunciation of the rascality of the Louisiana returning board, for which it had a deep and abiding hatred, and an occasional paragraph in favor of the wholesome practice of turning out the federal office-holders from time to time and putting new men in their places, the *Sun* gave special attention to the affairs of New York City. While it was tolerant of Tammany as a charitable association, it was bitterly opposed to the rule of the bosses, and in the campaign of 1870 against their candidate for mayor it exerted a remarkable influence

on the result by the use of the simple but picturesque refrain:

"No king, no clown,
To rule this town!"

It rung the changes on this couplet in a manner which drove it home to the comprehension of the average voter, and gave a notable illustration of the force which a popular refrain may exert in such a contest as this was. The public mind was greatly excited, many excellent speakers took part in the canvass, but it may well be doubted if any argument used was more effective than this in the final overthrow of Tammany.

In personal and social matters the *Sun* was always quite as independent as it was in politics. This is well shown by its attitude in regard to the Beecher-Tilton scandal, which for a season was an absorbing topic of discussion in both religious and secular society. Beecher was one of the most eloquent men of his day. He had done great service in presenting the cause of the Union in England, and was a preacher of unusual prominence, influence, and popularity. The sympathy of the public was strongly in his favor, but when his correspondence, as brought out in the trial, was considered in connection with the lady's confession and the undisputed facts of the case, the *Sun* did not hesitate to pronounce Beecher guilty nor to declare that

. . . "his great genius and his Christian pretences only make his sin the more horrible and the more revolting."

It was on October 1, 1878, that the *Sun* published an elaborate and circumstantial article recapitulating the career of General Garfield as a member of Congress, and charging him with complicity in the Washington ring, the operations of Oakes Ames and the Crédit Mobilier, the

back-pay salary grab, the De Golyer paving contract, and many other irregularities of legislation. It was a bold and relentless arraignment, which attracted much attention at the time, and constituted later the strongest argument of the campaign against the election of Garfield to the presidency. It was repeated in many forms by Democratic speakers during the canvass, but failed to convince the majority of the voters that Garfield was altogether unworthy. His popular plurality over "Hancock the Superb" was only seven thousand and eighteen, while he had a clear majority of fifty-nine in the electoral college. The President-elect was generally admitted to be a man of great amiability and of many admirable and showy qualities, among which was an unusual gift of oratory, while his opponent, although deservedly one of the most popular heroes of the war, was but a poor speaker and a bungling writer.

It was in describing Hancock's letter of acceptance that the *Sun*, with ill-concealed contempt, declared that

"it is as broad and comprehensive as the continent, as elastic as india-rubber, and as sweet as honey."

And it was in speaking of his personality that it said:

"General Hancock is a good man, weighing two hundred and fifty pounds."

After the election was over and the result established beyond a doubt, it came out with the sententious statement, based upon the small plurality against it, that

"what the Democratic party needs is leaders who are not knaves and not fools. It has votes enough."

The assassination of Garfield a few months after his inauguration filled the public mind with sympathy and

completely wiped out the memory of the charges that had been brought against him. This, together with the fact that his successor, although a comparatively unknown man, gave the country a clean and therefore popular administration, brought about a great change in the newspaper discussions of the period.

It will be recalled that Dana was in early life inclined to the ministry, but gradually drifted away from the orthodox Congregational Church, and greatly shocked his father by turning towards the Unitarians, with whose belief he was more in sympathy, not only because their fundamental ideas seemed more liberal and reasonable, but because many of his college associates and best friends in New England were connected with that body. After removing to New York he became interested in the philosophy and speculations of Swedenborg, and for years attended the Swedenborgian Church. Later it is manifest that he left behind every form of belief based upon dogma, and inclined more and more to that Goethean indifference which he had mentioned in his youth. He had no patience with bigotry, intolerance, or pharisaism, but allowed every one perfect liberty in matters of faith.

Although out of its chronological order, it may be well to relate here an incident bearing on this subject which took place early in the last year of his life. A friend who enjoyed his confidence and was accustomed to discuss all sorts of questions with him, said one evening: "Mr. Dana, you have sounded the depths of philosophy and of human wisdom; you have read the Bible, the Koran, and all the sacred books of the ancients; you have conversed with the pope and the great men of the earth—tell me, is there anywhere any evidence which would be received in a court of justice that there is a life after death?" With a look of intense concentration of thought, but without a moment's hesitation, he replied: "Not a scintilla. It is all based on

man's egotism and that hope which springs eternal in the human breast."

This was the last utterance he ever made on that subject, and yet to those who knew him best Dana was throughout life, both by example and precept, the steadfast friend of true religion. Leading himself a clean, wholesome, and upright life, in which every appetite and passion was held in absolute subjection to his own will, as became an honest gentleman and true philosopher, he never hesitated to rebuke intolerance, persecution, espionage, or any other sort of interference with personal liberty and personal responsibility, whether it was conducted under the cover of religion, philosophy, or secular government. He made the *Sun* from the start a forum in which every form of religious belief could state its views and have an unbiassed and patient hearing, and some of the most learned and instructive discussions of the times, in the search for truth, were given to the world through its columns by Goldwin Smith and other occasional and regular contributors.

From one of its earliest and most notable articles I quote as follows:

"There is nothing more derogatory to the character of the human race, there is nothing more painful and humiliating to contemplate, there is no darker page in history, than the persecutions, the imprisonments, the cruelties, the tortures, the murders which have been inflicted in the hallowed name of religion.

"'O Christ, all suffering and merciful One,
What damning deeds have in Thy name been done.'"

And again:

. . . "The Americans are a proud-spirited, independent, liberty-loving people. They will tolerate no such superin-

tendence, no such espionage. They will not have even the holiest religion crammed down their throats against their will. They will be free: 'They worship only God, nor even Him except in their own way.'

"Spies may be a necessity of war, but in time of peace all men unite to make war on spies."

The death of George Ripley, in July, 1880, one of a group of early friends and co-laborers, who had become estranged from Dana because of the independent and aggressive course pursued by the *Sun* in denouncing political corruption, afforded a suitable occasion for an illuminating article on socialism. As it was evidently written by Dana, and exhibits rare tolerance of another sort, and gives his matured views on the Brook Farm experiment and social democracy, I quote as follows:

. . . "The social philosophy of this eminent thinker sprang from two sources: from his deep, inner faith in Democracy as taught by Jefferson, and from his conception of humanity as taught by Herder. Of these vital ideas his socialism was the logical consequence; and the community at Brook Farm was the fruit at once of his democratic convictions and of his weariness with the unsatisfactory, unprofitable routine of conventional society as he found it forty years ago existing around him in Boston.

"He had very few intimate friends then or at any other time, yet three men were especially near to him, influencing his mind by their conversation and writings. These men were George Bancroft, Orestes A. Brownson, and Theodore Parker. The fundamental democratic doctrine of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and the doctrine of humanity as a living unity, they shared with him; his conclusions concerning the embodiment of democracy in new social forms they respected, but did not share. His experiment they observed with interest and sympathy, but in its pecuniary and personal risks they took no part. Indeed, no individual of distinction

joined in the enterprise except Mr. Hawthorne, and he remained but a month or two, investing a few hundred, which he took care to recover by a lawsuit afterwards.

"The community of Brook Farm lasted about five years, and was finally dissolved in consequence of the destruction by fire of its most important and costly building. But if this disaster had not occurred, it must presently have come to an end. The plan was too large for the means, the profits were insufficient, and the friction was too great. It contained at the time about one hundred inmates, including schoolteachers, mechanics, business men, farmers, and pupils. In pursuance of the attempt towards a more just retribution for labor, all employments were paid substantially alike; and thus persons who in the world without could earn large salaries received no more than those who could only earn small ones; but the great difficulty was, that enough could not be earned for all the needs of the establishment.

"The world is not yet ripe for social democracy.

"Yet it is not too much to say that every person who was at Brook Farm for any length of time has ever since looked back upon it with a feeling of satisfaction. The healthy mixture of manual and intellectual labor, the kindly and unaffected social relations, the absence of everything like assumption or servility, the amusements, the discussions, the friendships, the ideal and poetical atmosphere which gave a charm to life, all these combine to create a picture towards which the mind turns back with pleasure as to something distant and beautiful, not elsewhere met with amid the routine of this world. In due time it ended and became almost forgotten; and yet it remains alive, and the purposes that inspired it still dwell in many minds. In the case of Mr. Ripley, they remained as the soul of his philosophy, the sure and steady light which lighted up the dark places of thought and action. He was a socialist and a democrat to the last.

"The same is doubtless true of others who were with him, and who have since been scattered in the ordinary plains and byways of existence. The faith of democracy, the faith of

humanity, the faith of mankind are steadily growing towards a society not of antagonisms, but of concord; not of artificial distinctions, but of spiritual development towards a society commanding the forces of external nature and converting the earth into an abode of peace and beauty, excelling the mythical Eden of old; this we say still lives among men. The mortal remains of one of them are to-day committed to the earth, but the faith survives immortal and consoling.

> "'One God, one law, one element,
> And one far-off divine event,
> To which the whole creation moves.'"

XXVII

ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT HAYES BEGINS A NEW ERA

Dana declines to subscribe to memorial — Opposition to dishonest Republicans — Warning against growth of corporate power — Against increase of federal authority — Suggests Holman for president — Opposes Cleveland for governor — Against him for president — Supports Butler — Favors Randall for speaker — Carlisle elected — Argument against internal revenue laws — Civil service reform — Against nationalization of railroads — Need of opposition to government — Proposes public subscription for General Grant — Doubts Cleveland's adherence to pledge against second term — Overflowing treasury — Tilden on coast defence — Monroe Doctrine — Annexation of Sandwich Islands — Davis and the Lost Cause — Letter on Edwin M. Stanton — Horizontal reduction of tariff — Increase of navy — McKinley tariff act — Sackville-West's letter — Favors re-election of Cleveland — Economic utility of corporations — Favors protection of American railways against Canadian competition — Continental union — Commends Harrison's inaugural address — Condemns his acceptance of Cape May cottage — Good word for office-seekers and trusts — Commends Cleveland's action against Chicago strike — Opposes his third candidacy — The noble controversies of politics — Death of George William Curtis — Samuel J. Randall — Benjamin F. Butler — Sketches of Beach and Bennett

Early in the presidential term of Rutherford B. Hayes, a movement was started at Boston to place his portrait in Memorial Hall, with those of John Adams and John Quincy Adams, the only other graduates of Harvard University who had up to that time reached the office of president. It was proposed that the portrait should be paid for by subscriptions from his fellow-graduates, and Dana was invited to contribute. To this he replied, January 21, 1881:

. . . "I decline to join in such a subscription. I am not willing to do anything that may be designed or construed as a compliment to Mr. Hayes, or that may recognize his tenure of the executive office at Washington as anything other than an event of dishonor. He was not chosen president. He was defeated in the election; and then a band of conspirators, Mr. Hayes himself conspiring and conniving with them, setting aside the Constitution and the law, and making use of forgery, perjury, and false counting, secured for him possession of the presidency to which another man had been elected; and when he had got possession of it, his most sedulous care was to repay with offices and emoluments those authors, managers, and agents of the conspiracy to whom he had been chiefly indebted for its infamous success.

"Sooner than honorably commemorate such an event or do public homage to such a man, I beg you, gentlemen, with your own hands first to destroy the portraits of John Adams and John Quincy Adams in Memorial Hall, and then to raze to the ground the hall itself." . . .

And this was the attitude that Dana maintained throughout life towards Hayes and his cabinet. There seems to have been nothing personal in his course. He had no acquaintance with Hayes, either as a soldier or as a citizen, but judged him solely from his connection with the Electoral Commission, and with the men and means by which he secured the presidency. To these he never failed to show a deep and abiding opposition based upon a literal construction of the Constitution and upon his own idea of righteous political conduct. His real battle had been for honest government, both national and State, and, although he had gained a substantial victory, he could not resist the temptation to fire an occasional shot at those who had taken what he thought was a dishonorable part in the campaign, or had succeeded in getting away with spoils of battle to which they were not entitled.

Dana seems at no time to have been opposed to Republicans as such, but always to dishonest Republicans, and this is strikingly shown by the fact that when Roscoe Conkling resigned from the Senate, because his wishes had not been complied with in reference to the appointment of a collector of customs for the port of New York, the *Sun* came out at once in favor of his re-election by the legislature, because it believed him to be an honest man, whose return to the Senate would be a rebuke to President Garfield. But this was not all. It commended "the truth, devotion, and fidelity" of Senator Platt in following the example of his more distinguished colleague, while it denounced one of his principal opponents in the legislature who had taken a professional part in preventing the investigation of the Black Friday conspiracy from uncovering the real culprits.

As early as January, 1881, the *Sun* called attention to "the latent heat of public feeling," and its liability "to be kindled into flame" by the augmentation of corporate power through the absorption and consolidation of independent but kindred corporations, as in the case of the great telegraph companies. It pointed out that a state of things entirely unforeseen by the framers of our national and State governments had arisen, and that the powers of government would have to be adjusted in some way to the new condition of things. It emphasized its statement by referring to the fact that individuals like Vanderbilt and Gould had already come to the exercise of power and influence which amounted to a balance of power in a State, and even in a nation. It concluded with the declaration that

. . . "a great struggle between the power of the multitude and the power of an individual wielded through corporate forms is at hand."

Considered in connection with the subsequent growth of corporate power, as exemplified by the life-insurance companies and the great railroad combinations of the present day, and by the radical measures resorted to by the national government to limit and control such combinations, this statement, made over a quarter of a century ago, may well be regarded as prophetic.

Although Dana always called himself a Democrat, he doubtless used the word in a sociological rather than a political sense. He was habitually opposed to any action on the part of the national government that could be properly left to the State governments, and it was mainly for this reason that he opposed, from the date of their first mention, every bill presented to the national Congress for the prevention of food adulterations and the regulation of interstate commerce. He strenuously contended that the clause of the Constitution which authorized the Congress to regulate commerce between the States had no such meaning as was given to it in the interstate commerce act, and that all such acts were "antagonistic to Democratic principles" and a "step in the direction of centralization and paternal government." He believed in rigid economy in the national expenditures, and therefore sympathized deeply with Holman, of Indiana, who began to attract public attention in 1882 for the frequency with which he objected to, and the persistency with which he scrutinized, the appropriation bills of the House. From that date, till he disappeared from public life, the *Sun* always mentioned the Great Objector with respect, and did all it could to encourage him in his good work. It even went to the extent of suggesting that his nomination and election to the presidency would be a good thing for the country. Holman was a plain man, but an earnest and sagacious one, and in commending his example and virtues it is evident that Dana meant to indicate that he regarded

character and honesty as of far greater value in a public officer than polite accomplishments or a college education.

It was in September, 1882, that Dana first announced his opposition to Grover Cleveland, who had just been nominated by the Democratic party of New York as their candidate for governor of the State. As the *Sun* remained a free and, at times, an intolerant critic of that distinguished man, so long as he held public office, it is interesting to note that it based its opposition primarily on the ground that

"It is not usually a wise thing in politics, any more than in war, to take a private from the ranks and at one bound to promote him to be commander-in-chief; yet that is what has been done in the case of Grover Cleveland."

While it is true that Cleveland at the time of his election to the office of governor was without national experience or prominence of any kind, he was destined as governor, and afterwards as president, to reveal himself as a man of honesty, courage, and independence. Although a lawyer accustomed to city life, his intellectual growth had been slow, hence his character was neither fully developed nor fully understood till his public career was drawing to a close. Besides, it should be remembered that Dana was a firm friend of Tilden, and, so long as his faculties were unimpaired, naturally regarded him as the legitimate leader of his party. Both Cleveland and Dana were famed for their independence as well as for their impatience of restraint, and these qualities made it probable that their initial divergence, whatever its cause, would not only grow wider, but continue to the end. So far as can now be ascertained, no adequate effort was ever made to open the eyes of either to the real merits of the other, or to bring them together in support of policies and measures which both had sincerely at heart.

Owing mainly to the very large majority by which Mr. Cleveland was elected, he had hardly been installed as governor when the press of the country began discussing his availability as the candidate of the Democrats for president. Among the earliest of his supporters were several Mugwump or moderate Republican journals, and this circumstance, together with the fact that he had not yet greatly distinguished himself in public affairs, caused the *Sun* to decry the suggestion as premature, and likely to prove injurious to the fortunes of the Democratic party. But the fact is, that while Dana had come to be generally regarded as a Democrat, he was above all an independent, who had his own views on every subject. Unfortunately, they were unfavorable to Cleveland from the first, but, so far as can be discovered, they were based purely upon considerations of experience and fitness, and not at all on personal grounds. Besides, it should be remembered that, in looking over the political field, Dana had come to the conclusion, months before the nominating convention, that Butler, of Massachusetts, would be the strongest candidate that the Democrats could nominate, and had published an elaborate article setting forth his merits as "a man of the most fertile mind, of steady courage, and unflinching fidelity to whatever duty he assumes." In bringing him forward, he contended that the general's popularity with various outsiders and independent organizations not connected with either of the great parties would prove to be an important if not a decisive element of strength. Later, when Dana was reproached by his colleagues of the press for inconsistency in favoring one whom he had previously denounced in severe terms for his connection with the Republican party, and for the support he had given to Grant's administration, the editor, without the slightest regard to the mere appearance of consistency, declared that "things had changed very much

since that time," and that for several years he had "felt profoundly grateful to General Butler" for the course he had taken in regard to the Electoral Commission, and particularly for the desire he had manifested to have Tilden installed in the place which had been unjustly given to Hayes. In further support of his candidate, Dana contended that all Democrats who could not for any reason vote for Cleveland, and all Republicans who would not on account of his unfortunate record vote for Blaine, could with entire propriety vote for Butler,

> . . . "both as a man to be immensely preferred to either of the others, and as a protest against such nominations."

Having already declared in the columns of his newspaper that sooner than join in making James G. Blaine President of the United States, he would quit work, burn his pen, and leave to other and perhaps rasher heads the noble controversies of politics and the defence of popular self-government, and having opposed the nomination of Cleveland on the ground of inexperience and obscurity, there can be no doubt that his best excuse for supporting Butler is to be found in his desire to enter an effective protest against the other nominations. That he made a serious mistake in this, and thereby threw away both prestige and income, must be conceded by all who regard policy as better than independence. And this is the more noticeable because, in looking back upon the personality of the candidates and the issues of the campaign, it is now evident that Dana underestimated Cleveland and did not fully appreciate Butler's defects of character or the fatal influence of his instability of conviction upon the public mind. First a pro-slavery, if not a secession Democrat, next a radical Republican, then a Greenbacker, and finally an independent, he had established a reputation for neither

sincerity nor honesty, and had gained in no part of the country any considerable share of public confidence.

While Dana showed no disposition to quarrel with the voting public, he was doubtless disappointed, if not surprised, at the returns. Withal, the successful candidate was still an untried man, while Dana himself was, if possible, more than ever an independent one. Although the general results of the election, in putting the Democrats into power and turning the Republicans out, might well have been claimed by him as a substantial victory, it did not relieve him, in his own mind, from the supreme duty of keeping his journal true to its policy of independence. Having always been intensely American in his feelings, Dana's unvarying practice was to advocate such policies as would tend to increase the wealth, power, and independence of the American people. Recognizing that the human family was not a solidarity, but was divided into races and nations for governmental purposes, he felt that his first duty was to do all in his power to develop the resources, diversify the industries, and increase the wealth of his own country. To this end he had always favored a protective tariff as against a tariff for revenue only. He held that from the earliest days of the Democratic party its policy had conformed to this principle, and that nothing had occurred to justify a radical departure from it. For this reason he never gave countenance to the tendency which began to show itself in that direction with the appearance of an unusual surplus in the national treasury. To the contrary, he repudiated the party tendency towards free-trade legislation, and when the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives manifested its purpose to choose a free-trade Democrat for the office of speaker, he threw himself into the fight against Carlisle, of Kentucky, the party favorite, and favored Randall, of Pennsylvania, a life-long and very able pro-

tectionist. The newspapers of the country took sides according to their convictions, and the discussion, which was a spirited one, covered the entire period between the election and the organization of the new House. Foreseeing that a free-trade policy would split the party, and if followed by free-trade legislation would so disturb the business and prosperity of the country as to bring on hard times, which in turn would bring the Republicans again into power, Dana placed Randall on a simple but comprehensive platform of his own framing, and advocated it as the only one by which the Democratic party could hope to maintain itself before the country. It was clear and explicit, but it would be difficult to-day to decide whether it was in any partisan sense either Democratic or Republican. It advocated:

"I. A Radical Reduction in the Expenses of the Government.

"II. The Return of Every Superfluous Office-holder to Private Usefulness.

"III. The Abolition of the Internal Revenue System.

"IV. The Radical Reform and Simplification of the Tariff.

"V. No Subsidies; no Jobbery; no Stealing; no Waste."

But with all Dana and those who stood with him could do, Carlisle was elected, and the party started on a policy that in four years ended in the double event which had been predicted. It is not the purpose of this narrative to decide whether this was due to the action of the Democratic party or to the operation of economic laws independent of both parties, but merely to point out that it was a signal vindication of Dana's judgment.

With this explanation, and the fact that the two chief offices of the government were in the hands of men he had opposed, it is easy to understand that Dana felt under no sort of obligation to give either his support. He re-

garded Carlisle as an able man, and always mentioned him with respect, but this did not blind him to the fact that both the speaker and his party were on a road which must end in failure and defeat. His first duty under his repeated declaration of independence as a journalist was clearly to the public and to his own views of public interest. In this connection it is to be noted that throughout both of Cleveland's administrations he was just as independent and aggressive in his criticisms of men and measures as he was throughout both of Grant's. As will be indicated further on, he was frequently right in this, though it is not to be denied that his strictures upon the administration, and upon the measures which it adopted, were so uniformly hostile, and his personal references to Cleveland were frequently so disrespectful, as to subject both him and his newspaper for years to the harshest criticism.

This was emphasized in the public estimation by the fact that Dana had found no noticeable difficulty in giving his unqualified support to General Butler, first for governor of Massachusetts, and second for the presidency of the United States. In both instances his critics claimed that Dana's main purpose was not so much to express his disapproval of the other nominations as it was to witness "the rattling and smashing which would take place among the dry bones" if by any chance Butler should be elected. In this, curious as it may seem, he was far from being alone. It is well known that there were many voters in Massachusetts, and not a few in the country at large, who desired, in the phrase of the day, "to see what the Old Man would do" if called to either of the high offices to which he aspired. When his notable peculiarities were taken into consideration, this desire was perhaps natural enough, but it was difficult to defend it, or to justify the course of the *Sun*, against the suggestion which was frequently

heard, that it was treating a grave and important matter with undue levity.

It was during this period that the *Sun* brought forward its most elaborate arguments against the internal revenue laws as an outgrowth of the Civil War, but which had outlived the occasion that so fully justified them. It advocated the abolition of the entire system, except the excise on distilled spirits and tobacco, as no longer necessary and as bringing the Federal government too close to the daily life of the people. For similar reasons it opposed the adoption of a permanent civil service, and the establishment of competitive examinations for filling the public offices. It contended that, while the appointing power should be held responsible for the selection of its agents, it should be left free to exercise its own best judgment as to their qualifications. In reply to an invitation to attend a competitive examination at the New York custom-house, after stating the case in general terms as above, and allowing that every applicant for public office should be examined individually but not competitively for the work he wished to undertake, the editor continued as follows:

. . . "I do not believe in this method of reforming the present evils of civil service. Above all, I do not believe in the establishment in this country of the German bureaucratic system, with its permanent staff of office-holders who are not responsible to the people, and whose tenure of place knows no variation and no end except the end of life.

"In my judgment a genuine reform of the evils complained of is reached by the rigorous simplification of the machinery of government, by the repeal of all superfluous laws, the abolition of every needless office, and the dismissal of every unnecessary officer. The true American doctrine on this subject consists in the diminution of government, not in its increase.

"Moreover, the first and indispensable condition of any reform under the federal Executive is the election of a president who is earnestly and thoroughly a reformer. Until that is done we may expect to see shallow experiments, deceptive shams, and short-lived illusions, but no real or permanent improvement can be attained." . . .

A few days later, in reply to a casual correspondent who suggested the nationalization of the railroads, the *Sun* expressed itself against the proposition in terms which appear to be quite as sensible to-day as when they were first uttered:

. . . "We cannot imagine anything more absurd, unpatriotic, and dangerous than this scheme.

"There is one end which should be constantly pursued by every intelligent American in whatever belongs to legislation and government. This end is to diminish the power of government, to reduce the number and authority of office-holders, and to abolish as far as possible the interference of political agents in private affairs."

After admitting, during the course of the discussion, that protection and free-trade should receive due attention from the Democrats in the next House, it took care to put itself on the broader and safer platform that their chief and most imperative duty would be "to stand as a unit against free-trade in the people's money and for the protection of the public treasury." It followed this by a more elaborate article defining democracy to be "the government of the people for the people and by the people." It declared that its life is immortal, and does not depend upon any success of the hour; that elections may be lost and won, that wisdom or folly may prevail, that delusions may overcome the minds of men, and that interest may lead them astray; but when all political sins have been committed, all blunders have been endured and

punished, "the truth of democracy will still shine untarnished and the hopes of mankind will still cluster around the possibility of its realization." Calling attention to the fact that there are two tendencies in human society—one to increase the power in government, the other to its diminution—and claiming that the Democratic party should be considered as the principal representative and embodiment of the latter tendency, the article concluded as follows:

. . . "In every free commonwealth there is as great a need for an opposition as for a government; and though the Republicans should continue to hold the keys of power and place for another quarter of a century, the Democrats will continue to oppose their principles and resist their development. They may continue for a long time, and on many fields, to fight none but losing battles, and the tired and exhausted veterans may sadly drop out of the ranks and disappear; but new recruits, young, ardent, disinterested, believing in liberty and devoted to the republic, will rise up to take their places.

"No calamity can extinguish democracy; no one of those who are temporarily intrusted with leadership can break it down; it is immortal."

While this, so far as known, is the last statement made by Dana in regard to the subject, and shows a distinct leaning to the Democratic party, it should be observed that it does not pretend to show that resistance to the centralizing tendencies of the times as a permanent principle of national policy is confined to that party alone, nor did it in any way change the *Sun* from an independent journal into a partisan organ. Broadly considered, it was merely an argument in favor of the fundamental principles of the American government, in preference to those of all other governments in which emperors, kings, or privileged classes exercise the chief power.

Throughout the year 1885 the *Sun* touched upon all the topics of the day, but never as a party organ. It discussed the national banks from an economic point of view, but was not overfriendly to them. Indeed, it thought they could be dispensed with entirely, or be deprived of their function of issuing circulating notes without serious detriment to the national interests.

While sympathizing deeply with General Grant, on account of the financial disaster that had overtaken him through the failure of Grant & Ward, of which he was the senior partner, Dana, in an editorial doubtless from his own pen, opposed the proposition that Congress should give him a pension. He thought that no such precedent should be established, but proposed instead that the public sympathy should be manifested towards the unfortunate general by a great popular subscription to be limited to ten dollars from any subscriber, and that the proceeds should be put into the hands of trustees who should collect and pay over the interest and dispose of the principal as the surviving beneficiary might direct. While pointing out that this should not be considered as the payment of a public debt, and that General Grant's great military services were no more than his duty required him to render to the country that had educated and honored him, he did not wish to see the declining days of this eminent and patriotic soldier clouded with misfortune, and therefore asked his fellow-citizens to take hold and lift the burden off.

While heartily commending Cleveland as a man who at least dealt in no false pretences, but expressed his thoughts plainly and without hypocrisy, he cast a doubt upon his adherence to the declaration, made soon after his inauguration, that he would not stand for a second election to the presidency. In support of this doubt, the article plainly intimated that the President might, from his own experience, conclude, as several of his predecessors

had, that it would be better for his party, his country, and himself to take a second election. It pointed out the influences and arguments which would be brought to bear, and, although it cast no doubt upon the good faith or upon the firmness of the President's determination, it declared that nothing but time and experience could shed a conclusive light on the question. As the sequel showed, the editor was both correct and prophetic, for in spite of his earlier convictions Cleveland was not only renominated twice, but the second time was re-elected after an interregnum of four years.

During the whole of Cleveland's administration, and, for that matter, during the entire twelve years ending with his second term, Dana maintained the position of an independent with Democratic leanings, but it would be impossible within the limits of this narrative to epitomize the discussions in which the *Sun* was engaged. Such an epitome would necessarily touch upon every branch of human activity, for all were watched and commented upon by the editor and his able assistants. The newspaper had come to be recognized by the reading and thinking public, not only as the most enterprising, but as the most original and most interesting journal of the times. There was no subject which it hesitated to discuss, and none which it did not illuminate.

One of the most absorbing topics of the day was the overflowing treasury of the general government, and how to reduce the continually increasing surplus. Many suggestions were made and considered, but the one which received the *Sun's* heartiest approval was set forth in Tilden's letter to the speaker of the House of Representatives, urging that no reduction of taxation should be made till a proper and adequate system of sea-coast defence had been constructed and paid for. It regarded this as far preferable to a free-trade tariff. Later it discussed the

gold standard and the fall in prices, in connection with the decrease in the output of gold. It quoted largely from the speeches of Goschen and Giffen, and did not hesitate for a brief period to favor silver monometallism, to be gradually brought about by the Treasury's monthly purchase of four million ounces of silver, as allowed by the silver purchase bill. But when it was seen that this measure was merely a deal in merchandise that would cause the great commercial nations which adhered to the gold standard to ultimately unload their surplus silver upon the United States, the *Sun* promptly gave its support to Cleveland's recommendation that the silver purchase act should be repealed. On the other hand, it severely criticised the action of his Attorney-General for bringing a suit to set aside the Bell telephone patents in behalf of the Pan-Electric Company, in which he was charged with having a substantial ownership. It characterized the action of the administration as scandalous, and demanded the dismissal of Attorney-General Garland for involving the government in a patent suit in which it had no interest, and which the laws of the land were amply sufficient to deal with.

It condemned the President for "the mild and conciliatory foreign policy" which he adopted in the earlier part of his first term. It denounced his attitude towards Great Britain in regard to the *Corinto* affair with Nicaragua as a serious manifestation of indifference to the Monroe Doctrine, but did not fail to praise his message of retaliation touching the fisheries question. It asked for the resignation of Secretary Bayard for negotiating the fisheries treaty which the Senate rejected, but praised both the President and Secretary Olney in high terms for the measures they took to compel Great Britain to arbitrate its dispute with Venezuela in regard to the boundary between that country and British Guiana.

It favored the acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands, which had been provided for in the closing days of Harrison's administration. It severely condemned Cleveland for withdrawing the treaty of annexation which had been referred to the Senate for ratification. It condemned his action in sending a "paramount commissioner" to Honolulu without the advice and consent of the Senate as an assumption of authority and a violation of the fundamental law. It lost no opportunity to ridicule the paramount commissioner, or to inveigh against the re-establishment of the deposed queen upon her throne. It pointed out that the American people would not approve such a measure as this, no matter what excuse might be offered for it, and claimed that such acts as these, when added to the estrangement of the party leaders, which had already been brought about by the President's unconciliatory manners and his advocacy of a free-trade tariff, would result in the defeat of the Democratic party at the next election. And yet it may be truthfully said that it never failed to praise such acts of Cleveland or his administration as it could consistently approve, and it did this with a heartiness which did more than its bitterest criticism to arouse the resentment of their party supporters.

In May, 1886, the *Sun* published an editorial on the "Lost Cause," containing many evidences of having been written by Dana. It was called forth by a speech on that subject delivered by Jefferson Davis. After expressing admiration for the ability and eloquence of this remarkable address, and calling attention to the fact that it did not contain a single word on the subject of slavery, it continued as follows:

. . . "Yet this institution was indisputably the moving cause of all the acts, efforts, sacrifices, achievements, and

sufferings which Mr. Davis so wonderfully describes, exalts, and defends. Had there been no slavery, there would have been no secession and no civil war. Indeed, the great fruit of that war, next to the integrity and unity of the republic, is the extirpation of slavery.

"As long as the institution lasted, with its principles hostile to the principles of the government, with its immense power of property and o politics constantly menacing rebellion, it was impossible that the country should be safe; and, now that it has been removed, there is no longer any apparent cause, that the most strenuous observation can detect, which carries with it any peril of the kind. The measure of public safety which has thus been gained is worth all that it cost, enormous as the cost was.

"But this is not all. The removal of slavery did more than give security to republican institutions. It took away a great blot which rested upon the country, a contradiction and an incongruity most repugnant to the sentiments of generous, enlightened, and progressive minds. It brought the United States, the leader of democratic progress, into harmony with democratic ideas. It made the land better and fairer to live in.

"We are not surprised that in discussing these great events of twenty-five years ago Mr. Davis avoided all reference to slavery. It does honor to his intelligence and his heart that he should thus omit from his review this supreme element in the great contest; but he would have been truer to history had he faced the facts and manfully explained their share in the prodigious struggle, some of whose nobler aspects he so eloquently illustrates."

It was on June 17, 1886, that Dana wrote a memorable and appreciative letter to William P. Hepburn, a member of Congress from Iowa, in reference to Stanton, late Secretary of War. As it may be justly regarded as one of the greatest and most eloquent tributes ever paid to the character and services of an American statesman, it is here given in full:

"I am sorry to say that my period of intimacy with Mr. Stanton, and of service under him in the War Department, did not really begin until after General McClellan had been removed. For this reason I am not able to speak upon that point from personal knowledge of my own. But upon the general question of Mr. Stanton's purposes, I can say most emphatically that in all my acquaintance with him he never had but one purpose in his mind, and this was to carry the war efficiently forward to a victorious conclusion. He had no friends but those who were of that mind, and he knew no enemies but those whom he regarded as the enemies of his country. Whoever was not for prosecuting the war most vigorously, whoever hesitated, whoever interposed obstacles, whoever in his opinion failed to come up to the high mark of zeal and thoroughness, might be certain to have Mr. Stanton for a critic and an antagonist.

"Of himself, of his own personal interests and advancements, no man could be less careful than he was. All mercenary considerations he despised, and the end of the great struggle left him a much poorer man than he was at the beginning. All mere friendships he was ready to disregard and fling away as soon as he came to believe that their object did not share his own high and patriotic enthusiasm for the Union. He was such a man in his day and work as Oliver Cromwell was in his, and they who now propose to judge him by any narrow standard of their own are sure to judge wrongly.

"Of course, a great heroic figure like Stanton is not infallible, because he is a man. It was always possible for him to judge wrongly, and to be deceived by erroneous evidence. But one thing was never possible for him, and that was to be unfaithful to the Union or to show any mercy in feeling or in act towards its enemies.

"It is very easy for men in this year of 1886 to find blemishes in the conduct or the character of this great man; but we who knew him thoroughly, and whose fortune it was to labor at his side and under his orders, cannot be mistaken in our opinion that without him the Union could not have been saved."

Towards the close of Cleveland's first term the *Sun* denounced the Mills bill, providing for a horizontal reduction of the tariff, and praised the McKinley act as establishing the most useful and the most scientific tariff that the United States had ever had. While it frankly admitted that the time had come for "the reconstruction" of the tariff, it strongly contended that its "abolition" would be ruinous to the Democratic party and injurious to the country at large. It favored the upbuilding of the navy, and praised William C. Whitney, the secretary of that department, as the only member of Cleveland's cabinet that had proved himself equal to the exigencies of his high position. It maintained its hostility to Secretary Bayard and Minister Phelps, on account of their alleged attitude of unfriendliness towards the Irish and the Irish cause. It received the proceeds of a popular subscription for the benefit of the Irish movement under the leadership of Parnell. On the publication of an imprudent letter of Sir Lionel Sackville-West, the British minister, advising a citizen who had been a British subject to vote the Democratic ticket, it called for the dismissal of the minister, and had the satisfaction of seeing him on his way back to England within the short period of three days. It praised the President warmly for the spirit and promptitude of his action, and urged all citizens to vote for him rather than for General Harrison. With all the shortcomings of the Democrats in Congress, and all the objections which it had recorded against Cleveland and his management, the *Sun* preferred to see him re-elected than to see the Republicans again called back to power.

Although Dana had been one of the first of the American editors to call attention to the phenomenal increase of corporations, he was also one of the first to call attention to their great economic utility, and to the necessity of dealing with them fairly and justly. So philosophical were

his views, and so ably were they supported by his contributors, that they have remained to this day the guide of the *Sun* in its discussion of a question which is still far from a permanent or satisfactory settlement. The *Sun* has always maintained that railways and the improved methods of transportation are among the most useful and powerful agencies of American prosperity, and that in dealing with them and the abuses which have grown up in their management the people should never countenance measures looking to their ruin, their sequestration, or their acquisition by the general government. It even went so far as to urge that Congress, having passed a law for the regulation of interstate commerce, and putting certain restrictions on the American railroads, owed it to them that it should prohibit all foreign railroads and steamship lines from engaging in the same trade as rivals to our own railroads and common carriers, just as foreign steamship lines are prohibited from engaging in the coasting trade as rivals to our own steamship lines. Obviously this restriction was aimed particularly at the Canadian railroads along our northern border. They had been heavily subsidized by the British and Colonial governments, and had been built primarily for military purposes, in pursuance of a well-defined policy on the part of the home government to "federate the empire" and to put its American dependencies in condition to defend themselves against possible aggressions from the American republic.

In support of this suggestion, the *Sun* favored the peaceable acquisition of Canada and the neighboring provinces, and pointed out that this was not only in the direction of our manifest destiny, but that the result of continental union would not only dedicate one continent permanently to the cause of peace, but would in addition settle many important questions growing out of the juxtaposition of rival and possibly hostile sovereignties. Dana never

ceased to show his interest in this great question, and with a view to its proper and friendly solution accepted the presidency of the Continental Union Association, which at one time included in its membership many prominent and influential men throughout both Canada and the United States. It may be worth while in this connection to call attention to the fact that the *Sun* of April 21, 1887, asked the pertinent question:

"Which of the great political parties is going to be the first to make the peaceable acquisition of Canada a plank in its platform? Don't both speak at once. . . . But think about it carefully and prayerfully as well as wisely. It is a great subject, and will not become any less great till the thing has been done."

It did not fail to give special commendation to the Republican party for the unequivocal declaration which it inserted in its statement of principles in favor of that policy, but which, owing to the Spanish War a few years later, and perhaps to the fears of a timid administration, it at first softened and finally dropped entirely from its platform.

While the Democratic party still controlled the House of Representatives, the *Sun* counselled it not to let the Republicans "lead the way in this most important movement," but to seize upon it as a chance for "moving up to higher ground." But questions of internal policy engaged the entire attention of both parties. Neither had time or inclination to discuss the country's future relations with its near-by neighbors, but both were content to leave matters of that sort to be disposed of as they might arise. While Dana regarded continental union as "the paramount question of the hour" for the American people, he was far too practical an editor to engage in discussions for which they were not ready or which had not been brought

forward by a pressing public need. Indeed, he was an opportunist, but an opportunist with such breadth of view and such knowledge of facts as enabled him to select the actual topics and make an interesting newspaper for every day of the year.

In commenting on General Harrison's inaugural address, the *Sun*, with its usual directness, declared that it showed the new President to be "neither a sneak nor a fraud," and in view of the fact that it had already strongly expressed its disapproval of his accepting a cottage at Cape May from his party friends, this sententious commendation meant more than appeared on its surface. Taken in connection with the friendly comments that it made upon several of the gentlemen named for the new cabinet, it may be fairly regarded as foreshadowing a determination on the part of Dana to judge the incoming administration entirely on its merits.

It was at this time that what appeared to many to be an indecent rush for office under the new administration brought from the *Sun* a characteristic article favorable to politicians as a class, and deprecating the outcry against them as both thoughtless and unjust. It contended frankly that, if a man wanted an office, he should ask the appointing power for it, with the same freedom that he would ask a business man or corporation for a job. This view of the matter was as novel as it was sound and healthy, and seems to have been accepted as all that needed to be said on the subject.

But the *Sun* was always opposed to the creation of new departments of government, not only because it did not want to see the government functions enlarged, but because it did not want the army of federal office-holders increased. While it acknowledged that the rapid growth of population, which was a phenomenon of the times, would necessarily result in a corresponding increase of the office-

holders in the Treasury and Post-Office departments, it never lost an opportunity to argue against "all annexes and extensions" of federal power, the creation of "new hospitals for office-holders," and the enlargement of governmental activity, no matter what the excuse. For these reasons it objected to the creation of a department of agriculture, or a department of commerce and labor, both of which were then under consideration.

It opposed the indiscriminate denunciation of trusts for political effect as "the greatest humbug of the hour," and explained that

. . . "a trust is a vast partnership, a combination in trade or manufactures. The objects of trade being to buy as cheap as possible, to sell as dear as possible, and to get control of the market as far as possible, the formation for these purposes of these gigantic and widely extended partnerships is just as natural and regular as the partnership of two shoemakers or of two blacksmiths."

But while it held these views in regard to the nature and functions of trusts, and admitted that they should be subject to proper regulation by the power that created them, it also held that all trusts should be treated alike—that the commercial trusts should not be struck down while labor trusts and trades-unions should be allowed to carry on their operations without any regulation at all. True to its convictions, it always contended that neither labor trust nor trades-union should be permitted to deprive a private workman of his right to work at any time or place, or for any rate of compensation that might please him. It stood for the equal rights of all men before the law, and for the effective protection of every individual against the tyranny and violence of the many. While Dana had stood all his life for the rights of every class of labor, and for the betterment of its condition by all proper means, he

was the only prominent editor in the country who at all times stood firmly for the rights of the employer as well as of the individual workman. The *Sun* was notably outspoken in its condemnation of the railroad and other strikers, not for leaving their job nor for demanding higher wages and shorter hours, but for the injury they inflicted on the property of their employers, and for the outrages and violence which they visited upon those who were willing to take the places they had vacated.

It will be remembered that the great strike at Chicago, and the interference of the mob with the operation of the railroads engaged in interstate commerce, called forth a notable proclamation from President Cleveland for the restoration of public order. The occasion led to a correspondence by telegraph with the governor of Illinois that attracted much attention at the time. Its immediate effect was to make it plain that the President required no call from him for assistance as a warrant for sending troops to disperse the mob and insure the free transmission of the United States mails. It was clearly his duty to see that all the laws of the United States, including the act regulating commerce between the States, were enforced, that the government's mail service should be performed, and that to this end he should use, at his own discretion, such part of the army as he might think proper. Troops were accordingly sent at once to Chicago, and to other parts of the country where the running of trains had been stopped. The effect was magical; the mobs were dispersed, their organization was broken, mail service was re-established, and order was everywhere restored.

Upon all previous occasions, except in the case of receivers who were operating railroads under the orders of the federal courts, it had been regarded as the established law of the land that United States troops could not be ordered into a State to repress riots or insurrection until

the governor had stated officially that he was unable to restore and maintain order, and was therefore forced to call on the President for assistance. Governor Altgeld, who sympathized with the Chicago strikers, took this view of the matter, and was greatly put out to find that the President not only intended to act independently and without invitation, but had no doubt of his perfect right to do so under the federal statutes then in force. This was a genuine surprise to the lawyers as well as to the business men of the country. It marks an epoch in the protection of internal commerce and in the maintenance of public order and tranquillity. In all this it is to be observed that President Cleveland had the full support and co-operation of the *Sun* and its editor, followed by a growing respect for his honesty and courage, yet it is to be noted that they abated nothing of their opposition to the movement favoring his renomination for the presidency. He had been twice nominated and once chosen, and, although Harrison's term had intervened, Dana set his face strongly against a third nomination, and went so far as to say that the greatest service that Grover Cleveland could now render to his party, or to his country, would be to put an end to the movement in his behalf.

It must not be thought, however, that "the noble controversies of politics," which had for a third of a century engaged so much of Dana's attention, had entirely monopolized it. Fierce as may have been his onslaughts upon public men whom he believed to be recreant to their public duties, much as he may have rejoiced in the heat and excitement of the conflict, it is not to be supposed that he was indifferent to the claims of early friendship or to the gentler memories of the past. As an enemy went down before him, or as a fellow-soldier in the battle of life fell by the way, he never failed to pay his tribute of affection or respect. In such composition he was peculiarly gifted.

A single paragraph on the death of George William Curtis, in 1892, a dear friend and associate of Brook Farm and the *Tribune*, who had been estranged from him for years, is at once a touching example of his literary skill and of his generosity. It is here inserted:

"George Curtis lacked only two years of the Psalmists' period of threescore and ten; but his life was cast in pleasant places, and nothing but what was gentle, graceful, and poetic belonged to his career. He was one of those fortunate creatures who seem never to be compelled to do anything which is contrary to their inclinations. From his first appearance upon the stage of action, when he went to Brook Farm, in 1842, to the end at Staten Island, yesterday morning, he always maintained his own views of reform, and died as he lived, in the enjoyment of intellectual freedom and the culture of moral ideals, many of which the world has not yet learned to recognize. Elevated in purpose, lovely in character, the most delightful of companions, the soul of truth, not a great constructive genius either in literature, in politics, or in reform, though he attempted all of them with distinction, his personal and social qualities were always pure and perfect; and those who knew him best will join with us in laying upon his grave the fairest flower of memory and of hope."

An instance of another kind, but scarcely less touching, is his tribute to Samuel J. Randall, his political friend and fellow-Democrat, who died in 1890, and whom he had supported so strenuously for speaker of the House of Representatives. Of him he wrote in part as follows:

. . . "The history of Mr. Randall is narrated at some length in another part of this paper. It is impossible to read it without admiration for the character of the man, or without envy for such grand and unvarying devotion to the highest conception of patriotic duty. It is a most instructive and inspiring narrative. Resolute, modest, free from vanity and from selfishness, no public man has ever lived up to a purer

or a nobler ideal. There was no sham, no glitter, no cant in Randall, but a singleness of purpose, a supremacy of intelligence, and a magnanimity of action which temptation could not influence and weakness never marked with a blot.

"Happy is the nation which can stand beside the open grave of a great man without a cloud upon its pride at having had such a son. Happy the people in whose day and generation such an example of public and private virtue and of manly, life-long fidelity to every obligation has been produced. Happy the age which has possessed a citizen of such generosity and such heroism, in friendship so genial, in integrity so complete. And happy, above all, in the midst of their sorrow, are the friends and family, the nearest and dearest of the departed, in the consciousness that the man they loved and mourn for was not merely great and potent in the service of his country and his party, but was equally true, affectionate, gentle, sincere, and spotless in every relation of life."

It will not be forgotten that Dana had been severely criticised for the part he took in the presidential campaign in which Cleveland, Blaine, and Butler were the candidates. He had been charged with inconsistency, with levity, and even with insincerity; but at the death of General Butler, which occurred early in 1893, this is what he said:

"For the last quarter of a century at least Benjamin Franklin Butler has stood out as the most original, the most American, and the most picturesque character in our public life. He had courage equal to every occasion; his given word needed no backer; his friendships and his enmities knew no variableness or shadow of turning; his opinions were never disguised nor withheld; his devotion to his country was without qualification; his faith in the future of liberty and democracy was neither intoxicated by their victories nor disheartened by their defeats; his intellectual resources were marvellous; his mind naturally adhered to the cause of

the poor and the weak, and his delight was to stand by the under dog in the fight. In these qualities he was a great and an exceptional man, and his friends valued him and loved him as truly as his foes detested. But was he great always and in everything? Were his thoughts always thoughts of reality, and his utterances and acts always the utterances and acts of wisdom? Who would say so? No man attains to that height, and no man ever scorned the impostures of sham goodness and unattainable perfection more than Ben Butler. He was no pretender and no hypocrite. He lived his life, a life full of energy, of effort, of success, and of failure, and he has passed to the allotted reward; while we who remain may well be grateful to Heaven that such a man has been,

> "'Nor farther seek his merits to disclose,
> Or draw his frailties from their dread abode,
> Where they alike in trembling hope repose—
> The bosom of his Father and his God.'"

It will be noted that while Dana was the youngest of the great New York journalists, he knew them all personally, and had at various times professional or business relations with each of them. He was, of course, intimate with Greeley, and more or less sympathetic with the tastes and learning of William Cullen Bryant. As he was the survivor of the group, he was requested and consented to write his recollections of Bryant, Bennett, Greeley, Webb, Brooks, Beach, and Noah. In 1890 he dictated to his stenographer a brief account of Beach and a longer one of Bennett, but, unfortunately, never finished the series or published either of the sketches. As Beach was the founder of the *Sun*, and Bennett of the *Herald*, and as these are now the leading journals of the country in their respective lines, the sketches as corrected by Dana's own hand are here inserted:

. . . "Moses Y. Beach was a business man and a newspaper manager rather than what we now understand as a

journalist—that is to say, one who is both a writer and a practical conductor and director of a newspaper. Mr. Beach was a man noted for enterprise in the collection of news. In the latter days when he owned and managed the *Sun* in New York, the telegraph was only established between Washington and Boston, though towards the end of his career it was extended, if I am not mistaken, as far towards the south as Montgomery in Alabama. The news from Europe was then brought to Halifax by steamers, just as the news from Mexico was brought to New Orleans. Mr. Beach's energy found a successful field in establishing expresses brought by messengers on horseback from Halifax to Boston and from New Orleans to Montgomery, thus bringing the news of Europe and the news of the Mexican War to New York much earlier than they could have arrived by the ordinary public conveyance. With him were associated, sooner or later, two or three of the other New York papers; but the energy with which he carried through the undertaking made him a conspicuous and distinguished figure in the journalists of the city. The final result was the organization of the New York Associated Press, which has now become a world-embracing establishment for the collection of news of every description, which it furnishes to its members in this city and to other newspapers in every part of the country. Under the stimulus of Mr. Beach's energetic intellect, aided by the cheapness of its price, the *Sun* became in his hands an important and profitable establishment. Yet he is scarcely to be classed among the prominent journalists of his day."

"Contemporary with him was James Gordon Bennett, of the *Herald*, in many respects the most brilliant, original, and independent journalist I have ever known. Cynical in disposition, regarding every institution, every man, and every party with a degree of satirical disrespect, living through his protracted career in this city with very few friends, and those generally of a mental caliber inferior to his own, ready to affront alike the interests, the prejudices, and the passions of powerful individuals, or imposing parties with a judgment

always inclining to be eccentric, and a lawless humor for which nothing was sacred except his own independence, he yet possessed such fresh and peculiar wit, such originality of style, such resources of out-of-the-way reading and learning, such unexpected and surprising views of every subject, such comprehensive notions about news, and such ability to direct the collection of news, and to employ those able to organize and push that business, that he made himself the most influential journalist of his day; and in spite of enmities and animosities and contempt such as I have never seen equalled towards any man, he built up the *Herald* to be the leading newspaper of this country, and, indeed, one of the great and characteristic journals of modern times.

"Mr. Bennett was a Scotchman, and always spoke with a strong Scotch accent. He was a tall, spare, blond man, with a long and rather thin face, a Roman nose, small, blue eyes, and he was cross-eyed. This gave to his face a peculiar, sardonic expression. Yet there was such intellectual power and such an intellectual elevation in Bennett's face that it was always impressive and compelled the respect of those who were not certain whether he was going to befriend in the *Herald* the cause or the interest for which they were endeavoring to engage his support, or whether he would tear it with his criticism or wither it with his satire.

"The last time I saw Mr. Bennett was in the summer of 1868, when I paid him a visit in his house at Fort Washington. He was not very well, and was no longer taking a very active part in the conduct of the *Herald*, which had been handed over to his son, who was still aided by Mr. Frederick Hudson, for so many years Mr. Bennett's faithful and most efficient lieutenant. I found Mr. Bennett lying on the sofa, with an immense pile of newspapers that he had just read scattered on the floor. He told me that he had them brought up to him from the *Herald* office every day, and that he found no other amusement so attractive as their perusal; 'and yet,' said he, 'they are mostly domd fools.' He got up and showed me around the place, the garden, the grounds, and pointed out every striking view. I stayed to lunch with him, and was

greatly interested in observing the extreme refinement and elegance of the repast. No literary man or artist of the most cultivated taste could desire anything more delicate or artistic. Not one of the other distinguished men about whom I am now writing approached him in this kind of refinement, or in the culture which it suggested, except perhaps it may have been General Webb.

"Mr. Bennett had an ample body of enemies, and received in his day more personal abuse than any other member of the profession. Much of it was undoubtedly provoked by his unbridled manner of speaking about many things which most people held sacred. During the first years of the *Herald* the Catholic religion was the special object of his witty flings, and I cannot recollect in all literature anything more blasphemous and shocking than the expressions he frequently used. It often seemed as if he were running amuck against the established ideas and usages of society, yet it was all done with such an affluence of wit, such surprising illustrations, and such a store of historical references that even those who were shocked by the wickedness were entertained by the manner of it; and thus the indifferent general public bought the *Herald*, and stood by its editor with a sort of indifferent sympathy which contributed to the steady increase of its popularity and power. Its success was entirely the work of Mr. Bennett; and, with all the rest, he had an entire appreciation of the supreme importance of news, and went after it with as much force and elasticity as he went after everything else. He ran expresses in opposition to Mr. Beach, though he finally joined the combination and became a member of the Associated Press, with Beach, Greeley, Webb, and Brooks, for all of whom he maintained a kind of intellectual contempt, but none of whom he really hated half so much as he pretended.

"There was one quality of Mr. Bennett's which is worthy of unqualified admiration, and that is his spirit of independence. This he maintained under every stress and difficulty. No man but he controlled the *Herald;* no mind but his inspired it. There were all sorts of stories about blackmail and

self-vengeance, to which he never made any reply, and I believe that they were all false. He was one of the proudest men in the world, and he scorned to defend himself against such imputations just as much as he scorned every suggestion which looked to his surrendering any opinion, purpose, or policy of his own.

"In politics Mr. Bennett usually supported the Democratic party, and upon the question of slavery, which was the great theme of the half-century, he was always on the side of the institution, and poured all the violence of his sarcasm, logic, and hatred upon the abolitionists. His support of slavery was undoubtedly one of the points of popularity which made the *Herald* strong with the business interests and the conservative sentiment of the country. Yet in 1856, when the Republican party started out on its magnificent career and nominated John C. Frémont for president, Mr. Bennett for the first time turned his back upon the Democrats, and gave a qualified but not ineffectual support to the Western pathfinder. Now, for the first time, he began to make room in the *Herald* for arguments against slavery, and began even to write against the institution himself. These arguments were not like those of any other writer, but they were exceedingly efficacious, and this kind of qualified support was partially continued up to the nomination of Lincoln. But it was never pushed to the point of entirely breaking with the Southern interest until after the Civil War began. Even then it was reported that Bennett would not hang out the stars and stripes from the *Herald* office until after Fulton Street had been visited by a mob. But, however that may be, it is certain that Mr. Lincoln made a great account of the *Herald* afterwards; and I know of my own knowledge that at one time he tendered to Mr. Bennett the appointment of minister to France. The compliment was declined; but it was appreciated, and I don't think that after that there was ever a word in the *Herald* which could have caused pain to Mr. Lincoln.

"Finally, when the career of Mr. Bennett was ended, the antagonisms and hostilities that had surrounded his life were

all appeased, he breathed his last in the faith of the Church he had so often insulted; and his remains were followed to the grave by members of his own profession for pall-bearers, Horace Greeley and George W. Childs being among them. The *Herald,* which he created, is his monument, and now, after the lapse of nearly twenty years, it still bears the stamp of his genius and attests the vitality he imparted."

XXVIII

CLOSING PERIOD

Opposes Bryan for president—Democratic party must give up its heresies—Supports McKinley—Dana's substantial victory over public corruption—Loss of friends—Dana's ample fortune—Travels beyond sea—Visits Mexico and Cuba—Supports Cuban rebellion—Tribute to José Marti—Dana's scholarship—Class in literature—His inner life—Skill as horseman—Appreciation of art—Home at Sixtieth Street and Madison Avenue—Paintings, tapestry, and ceramics—Dana's personality and home life—Love of children—*The Art of Newspaper Making*

THE end of Cleveland's second administration marked the close of the *Sun's* co-operation with the Democratic party. It had pointed out with persistency the failure of that party in Congress to live up to the pledges contained in its platform, especially in reference to the tariff; and when it cast aside at Chicago its "essential ideas and best traditions," and converted itself into a Socialistic-Populist party, with William J. Bryan as its candidate for president, on a platform containing doctrines "which were for the most part hostile" to those it had held in the past, Dana, in response to many letters calling for his individual opinions, gave them in the *Sun* of August 6, 1896. They are characterized by independence of judgment and lucidity of statement, and, although the crisis which called them forth is happily long since past, they are given in part as follows:

. . . "The Chicago platform invites us to establish a currency which will enable a man to pay his debts with half as

much property as he would have to use in order to pay them now. This proposition is dishonest. I do not say that all the advocates of the free coinage of silver are dishonest. Thousands of them, millions, if there be so many, are doubtless honest in intention. But I am unable to reconcile with any ideal of integrity a change in the law which will permit a man who has borrowed a hundred dollars to pay his debt with a hundred dollars each one of which is worth only half as much as each dollar he received from the lender.

"The Chicago platform sanctions the use of the appointing power of the President in such a way as to control the federal judiciary in deciding questions of constitutional law. It contemplates a change in the personnel of the Supreme Court of the United States to the end that the recent decision declaring the income tax unconstitutional may be reversed. Strange times, indeed, are these, when a man is told that in order to be a Democrat he must favor the imposition of an income tax and the destruction of the independence of the judiciary!

"Still more alarming is the clearly implied approval of lawless violence contained in the denunciation of what is denominated in the platform 'government by injunction.' Veiled in the language of moderation, the wild light of anarchy shines through.

"In my opinion, without reviewing the Chicago platform further, the declarations in regard to the currency, the Supreme Court, and the income tax, and the repression of forcible lawlessness by the aid of injunctions, are enough to demand its rejection by all good citizens, and the defeat of the candidates who stand upon it.

"I regret exceedingly to find a disposition quite prevalent to array the West against the East in the discussion of these matters. I see no occasion for making our differences sectional. Here there is no political hostility towards the West, such as is expressed towards the East by some Western newspapers and public speakers. Good citizens can perhaps best aid the cause of honest money and law and order by devoting more time to rational argument and less to inefficient abuse.

"All questions relating to the tariff have become insignificant for the time being, in view of the possibility, however slight, that the abhorrent principles of the Chicago platform may prevail. The duty and the necessity to compass the final overthrow of that platform by assisting in the defeat of William J. Bryan are most imperative and solemn. This may most certainly be accomplished by voting for the electors pledged to the support of William McKinley; but I have no quarrel with any Democrat who adopts any other course which seems to him equally well adapted or better adapted to the same end."

These views, having been fully foreshadowed in the *Sun*, were now widely accepted by conservative Democrats, who either came out squarely with Dana in support of McKinley, on a platform pledged to gold as the national standard of value, or in support of an independent ticket composed of Democrats, about whose position and the platform on which they stood there could be no doubt whatever. While these men differed as to the practical measures to be adopted, they stood together in the belief that the time had come when

. . . "the Democracy must purge and recreate itself. It must make itself again known and accepted as the party of equal rights, of party government, of republican ideas, and of political stability, or all that Jefferson labored for, and all that his successors have achieved in the Democratic name, will be lost, or credited to other parties. And by just so long as the need of this regeneration fails to be recognized, the beginning of Democratic restoration will be delayed." . . .

These words, written before the election, were prophetic. They show no change in Dana's principles. They indicate no abasement of his ideals, no faltering in his purposes, but, taken in connection with the opinions already given, they show that he intended to waste neither time nor

effort in supporting men who were destined from the start to defeat. While he did not value McKinley highly as an original thinker, or as a statesman of the first rank, he acknowledged his good sense, and felt sure that, surrounded as he would be by a large group of the ablest men in his party, he would give the country a safe and conservative administration in substantial accord with the platform on which it had been chosen. Firm in this conviction, the *Sun* at once became an active advocate of the Republican candidates. As it had always been, it was independent and in no sense a time-serving partisan, but for this reason its influence was perhaps greater than ever before. McKinley received a larger plurality of votes than had ever been given to any candidate for president except General Grant.

As before stated, Dana had won a substantial victory in his efforts to purify the administration of the government as carried on by the Republicans, and to give it a vigorous and American tone as carried on by the Democrats. Jobbery and scandal had entirely disappeared from the management of the great departments at Washington. Landaulets and family coaches were no longer bought by members of the cabinet and paid for with public money. The building lots of government officials were no longer graded at the cost of the city. Post-traderships had ceased to pay tribute for the benefit of those in power. Speculation in Star Route contracts and fraudulent claims against the government, as well as in naval materials and discarded arms, had come to an end. Safe-burglary conspiracies and bonded-warehouse frauds had been suppressed. The Black Friday combination and the Whiskey Ring had been broken up. The revenues were honestly collected and accounted for. Log-rolling legislation had been reduced to a minimum. Municipal government in Washington and New York had been greatly improved, while the management of both State and national affairs

had been cleansed and lifted to a higher plane. In bringing about these results, Dana had taken the lead and done more than his full share. His newspaper had come everywhere to be regarded as the fearless leader of popular opinion against bribery, peculation, and wastefulness in public office, and as the outspoken advocate of personal and official virtue. The boldness of its denunciation and the certainty of its exposure had filled the heart of the wrongdoer with fear, whatever might be his rank or station. It had occasionally made mistakes in judgment, but rarely in principle. While it had maintained the right of free speech and free comment at great trouble and expense, it had thereby made it safe in all parts of the country for the newspaper to stand fearlessly for the public interests. It had made "personal journalism," as practised at that time, not only fashionable, but respectable. It had brought both presidents and members of the cabinet, as well as senators and members of the House of Representatives, within the range of its influence, and had created policies which everybody in public life was compelled to respect.

To all this Dana had given his best thought and most untiring industry. His boldness and his aggressiveness had cost him some friends and much money, but never a tremor nor a doubt. He had pursued the course he thought best in every case, and, so far as can be seen, he never shrank from the heat and burden of the conflict. Notwithstanding the cost and the loss of battle, he seems to have borne himself cheerfully and bravely throughout life, and to have carried a bold and joyous front in every encounter. That he was fiercely criticised and bitterly denounced in turn was but natural, but as it became certain that he could neither be tempted nor frightened from the path of duty, new friends gathered about him, and his fame as a champion of public virtue and public interests was established on an enduring foundation.

The *Sun*, to the making of which he had given his constant thought and his best work, had become not only the most powerful, but one of the most profitable newspapers of the day. It had made him rich, and surrounded him with comfort and luxury, and with these, as the fierceness of the struggle abated, came the desire and the determination to travel beyond sea. So long as he was on duty at his task of making a daily newspaper, it was as natural for him to do the work of writer and editor as it was for the mechanic to ply the art by which he made his living. With the regularity of the clock, day in and day out, week in and week out, year in and year out, he devoted himself to his task, till the time came for him to play, and then he played with just as much earnestness and joy as he had worked. Always a student of languages, literature, art, and philosophy, he gave them every day of his life such a part of his time as he could spare from actual work. And in this no Chinese scholar who works throughout life and never finishes his education could have been more avaricious of his time or more methodical in the use he made of it.

As will be remembered, Dana made his first visit to Europe to observe and report upon the revolutionary movements of 1848 and 1849. He made his second visit in 1879, and his third in 1882. During the next decade he went many times, his travels lasting three or four months and taking him in turn to England, Ireland, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy. While he manifested but little curiosity to see the rulers or the courts, or to mingle with the official classes, he studied the people closely and gave much time to art of every kind. On one of his visits to Rome he had a private audience of the pope, during which they discussed Dante and quoted from the "Divine Comedy," to their mutual gratification. On another he crossed the Black Sea, and, after visiting Tiflis, went north through the Caucasus to Nijni-Novgorod, Moscow, St. Pe-

tersburg, and Warsaw. On still another he took in Constantinople, Brusa, the Levant, and Jerusalem. After his return from these Eastern journeys, he wrote several letters for the *Sun*, in which he gave an account of his travels and observations. These having been somewhat out of the usual, were subsequently collected and published in a small but interesting volume which is still on sale.[1]

On one and another of his outings abroad he extended his travels beyond the beaten routes, and visited Denmark and Sweden, where the scenery, as well as the people, afforded him constant pleasure. His familiarity with most of the European languages and the Scandinavian dialects made it not only easy but highly interesting for him to talk with the natives, wherever he went, and it is noticeable that he always seemed to have a special interest in the Northern races.

During his earlier trips abroad he left the *Sun* in editorial charge of the late John Swinton: but a few years after his son Paul had taken his place as an assistant editor, the latter was left in charge during his father's absence. It is to be noted that the editor-in-chief never gave any formal instructions, but left his lieutenant with full discretion as to the course he should pursue upon any occasion that might arise. It was no part of his system to hamper his representative with directions that might not be applicable to the situations arising in his absence. It was in accordance with his instinct and his philosophy to trust in the good sense and good faith of his associates, none of whom ever lived under suspicion. His experience in the editorial rooms, as well as in the army, had taught him that too many instructions rarely ever produce the best results.

[1] *Eastern Journeys—Notes of Travel*, etc. pp. 114. By Charles A. Dana. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1898.

In 1883 Dana visited Mexico with a small party of intimate friends, and not only saw much of the country, but made the acquaintance of the president, Gonzales, and many leading men. Later he travelled extensively in Cuba, and, having become proficient in the Spanish language in early life, it was easy for him to acquire an exact and extensive knowledge of Cuban history, resources, literature, and system of government, and to express his sympathy with the political hopes and aspirations of the Cuban people. Many of his best friends were Cubans, and throughout both of their revolutions against the mother-country—that of 1868–74, as well as that of 1895—he was the firm and devoted friend and advocate of Cuban independence.

At the very outbreak of the last revolt against Spanish misrule, he gave his hearty encouragement through the columns of the *Sun:*

"To the brave men in arms for the independence and the liberties of Cuba, to the patriots who would give their country a Democratic-Republican government in the place of royalty, to the liberators who defy the power of Spain upon the battle-field, we send greetings!

"The American Republic watches them in hope and sympathizes with them. The seventeen republics of the three Americas desire their success.

"Let foreign domination upon this side of the Atlantic be brought to an end forever. America for Americans!"

And thus it was ever with this patriotic editor. He was the friend and supporter of the oppressed and downtrodden of every race and country. The misgoverned and overtaxed colonists, not less than those who suffered wrong at home, counted with absolute certainty upon Dana's sympathy and support. He had been the friend of Kossuth, of Mazzini, and of Garibaldi. He had pleaded in

turn for a Democratic republic in France, for a free and united Germany, for the independence of Hungary, for home rule in Ireland, and for the consolidation and enfranchisement of Italy, and naturally, when he sent greetings to the Cubans, they hailed him as a friend who would stand with them to the last. They looked confidently to him for guidance and assistance, as well as for the creation of a sentiment in their behalf throughout the United States, without which they could not hope to win. Such of their leaders and agents as came to this country hastened to make his acquaintance and to invoke his counsel and advice, which never failed them. One of the first and most admirable of their number to lay down his life for the independence of Cuba was José Marti, and the news of his death aroused in no one greater regret than it did in Dana. It called from his pen a noble and touching tribute of admiration and respect, which will be found in the *Sun* of May 23, 1895. It runs as follows:

"We learn with poignant sorrow of the death in battle of José Marti, the well-known leader of the Cuban revolutionists. We knew him long and well and esteemed him profoundly. For a protracted period, beginning twenty-odd years ago, he was employed as a contributor to the *Sun*, writing on subjects and questions of the fine arts. In these things his learning was solid and extensive, and his ideas and conclusions were original and brilliant. He was a man of genius, of imagination, of hope, and of courage, one of those descendants of the Spanish race whose American birth and instincts seem to have added to the revolutionary tincture which all modern Spaniards inherit. His heart was warm and affectionate, his opinions ardent and aspiring, and he died as such a man might wish to die, battling for liberty and democracy. Of such heroes there are not too many in the world, and his warlike grave testifies that even in a positive and material age there are spirits that can give

all for their principles without thinking of any selfish return for themselves.

"Honor to the memory of José Marti, and peace to his manly and generous soul!"

And when a man who could write thus of a fallen hero at the beginning of a struggle, before victory had come to hallow his name, should himself pass away, little wonder is it that the Cuban leaders in the persons of Palma, Quesada, and others should be the first to lay a wreath upon his tomb, and to testify the gratitude of a struggling people for his unselfish and sympathetic devotion to their cause.

While giving to his profession always his first and most faithful attention, he had a wide range of talents and interests outside of his daily occupation. It has been mentioned more than once that he had a great gift for language, which he rightly regarded as the depository of man's inner and spiritual history. In studying words, he followed them through all their forms and mutations to their ultimate meaning, and in this found never-ending pleasure and instruction. One of his learned contemporaries having read him a lecture for using the word "scrimmage" instead of "skirmish" in the columns of the *Sun*, he overwhelmed his would-be teacher by a witty paragraph in which he set forth a few of the many transmutations through which the word had gone from the Middle Ages to the present time. He showed beyond question that "scrimmage" was not only well established by immemorial usage, but was one of the breeziest and most suggestive forms ever used to convey a meaning perfectly at home in every modern European tongue.

The fact is that there were few men of his time not wholly devoted to the higher branches of study who better deserved to be called scholarly than Dana. He was always

a most industrious and methodical student, with an unusual gift for language. It was doubtless to this gift, which he showed as a clerk in the dry-goods store at Buffalo, while acquiring a working knowledge of the Seneca Indian dialect, as well as of Latin, Greek, French, and Spanish, that he was indebted for his admission into Harvard College without a "condition." When it is recalled that he had not attended school at all for eight years, during which he had no time he could call his own except Sundays and evenings, it becomes evident that he must have had very unusual application, as well as very unusual talents and ambition. It is also evident that he had a genuine thirst for knowledge, which, together with his aptitudes and tastes, gave special direction to his life-work and his career. Blessed with an extraordinary memory, his wide reading gave him at an early age an encyclopædic knowledge of both ancient and modern literature. He was not only familiar with the classics, but with all the great works of the German, French, Spanish, and Italian authors. For a time, at least, poetry was his special delight, and he knew the songs of Provence and the Romance tongues, as well as the Sagas, Low German, Scandinavian, and the plays of Ibsen.

For years Dana's chief form of intellectual entertainment was to gather a half-dozen friends—generally young and uninstructed, but occasionally a matured student, who could help on the rest—about him once or twice a week, and read with them some important book in a foreign tongue. He began this practice in Chicago with Dante, and continued it with other classics almost without intermission to the end of his life. As his eyes never recovered sufficiently from the injury done them at Harvard to permit him to use them with comfort in artificial light, the practice was for each member of the class to read eight or ten lines, so as to bring the passage fully and freshly to mind, when the reader would

translate and the master would correct and expound as circumstance required. In this way they read the "Divine Comedy" several times, and followed it with the "Nibelungenlied," the "Sagas," and many minor poems, to the great instruction and happiness of those who were fortunate enough to be included within his charmed and delighted circle. Elihu Root, Willard Bartlett, John Nicholson, and occasionally others, now counted among the distinguished men of the country, were admitted to his companionship and his instruction. While those happy nights may have left but few memories laden with specific facts and details, they did much to develop the taste, broaden the sympathies, elevate the ideals, stimulate the affections and the friendship, and expand the understanding of those who took part in them.

Dana's own preparation for the readings was always made in the morning before going to his office, with such scrupulous fidelity as to compel every word to give up its exact and perfect meaning. In fact, all his work on the *Sun*, in addition to his great and varied reading for by far the greater period of his life, was done solely by daylight. From the time of his studentship, throughout his connection with the *Tribune*, the *Cyclopædia*, the *Household Book of Poetry*, and the War Department, he rarely if at all taxed them at night, unless absolutely necessary, and then for the shortest possible period. Those who were closest to him believe that in later life he hardly ever opened any book, except a dictionary or a book of reference, for the direct purpose of accumulating knowledge, but always for the interest he found in the idea or the art which it contained. With his extraordinary powers of concentration, aided by his capacity to take in a column or a page almost at a glance, he could absorb from what he read all that it contained of value in an incredibly short time.

From the foregoing it may be fairly inferred that the outside public knew but little of Dana's inner life. He rarely ever showed himself in public, except at the theatre or the circus, in both of which he took a lively and appreciative interest. In the earlier days of the bicycle he became an expert rider, and for several years got a great part of his exercise from its use. He spent by far the greater number of his evenings at home. With a strong, vigorous constitution, and an excellent digestion, he early became a gastronome and gourmet of excellent taste, and one of his chief delights was to gather his friends about his dinner-table, where he entertained them with dishes and wines which were famous for their rarity and excellence. Upon such occasions his wit was genial and kindly, as well as free from connection with current controversies, and never failed to stimulate that of his guests.

In view of the aggressive and uncompromising tone of the *Sun* in the discussion of public men and public questions, it was widely believed that Dana was a man of violent temper and of harsh and abusive language, but nothing could be further from the truth. No man of his time had a more even temper or one under better control. He was not only calm and deliberate in all his actions, but clean, modest, and temperate in speech, as well as behavior. Widely as he differed in his views and convictions from many of the public men of the day, he always spoke of them personally, if he spoke of them at all, in terms of moderation and charity, if not of respect. So far as his closest friends knew, he never mentioned even his bitterest enemy with heat or passion, or with unqualified disapproval. If he could find an excuse for conduct he could not approve, it was sure to be a charitable one. He harbored no animosity, and always strove to separate private character and motives from official conduct, and, in condemning the latter, to reflect as little as possible on the

former. In this he seemed to be a true philosopher, who regarded human actions as the direct consequences of influences and conditions over which the individual had but little control. And nobody seemed to realize more fully than he that in our public affairs philosophy and the higher education play but an inferior part in comparison with the primal instincts and interests of every-day life. He hoped and worked for the higher ideals and the nobler virtues of human nature, but recognized the fact that they were not always nor often the controlling influence in human affairs. He was always found on their side, and yet never quite overwhelmed because they were sometimes forced to give place to baser considerations.

Dana's appreciation of the higher phases of art in other directions than literature was peculiarly quick and sure. Music at his home, of which there was much for many years, was mainly classical, but this did not exclude a liberal and appreciative sympathy for what was beautiful in other schools. His taste in music was much the same as in poetry. This was well shown by the monument erected, perhaps unconsciously on his part, to his own insight and appreciation of the poetical in English literature, as set forth in the *Household Book of Poetry*. That compilation has been already mentioned as the model and precursor of many others intended like it to embody and illustrate the breadth and elevation of the poetic sentiment of the English-speaking people, and nothing could bear better testimony to the originality, the literary skill, and the thorough acquaintance of Dana with the poetry of our language than the contents and arrangement of that book. The selection, the classification, and the merit of the poems are not only admirable, but show an appreciation of art in poetry that no other compiler has ever attained.

For the artistic expression of imagination as found in

painting, Dana had the most intense admiration. In 1880 he built a large and commodious residence at the corner of Madison Avenue and Sixtieth Street, and his first care was to decorate and embellish it with paintings, tapestries, and porcelains.

But the form of art to which Dana gave the greatest attention was Chinese porcelain. To this, from the day it first attracted his notice, he devoted much of his spare time, and continued to do so with unabated interest throughout life. When it is considered that there were but few amateurs of similar predilection, and only one important collection in the United States—that of Mr. Walters, of Baltimore—before Dana began making his, it will be seen that his taste for this fascinating branch of ceramics was based upon an inbred artistic sense, and not upon a factitious or transitory fancy. His collection gradually developed into one of great brilliancy and interest, and contained many perfect examples of the potter's art as practised in the Far East from its earliest days to the period of its decadence. It contained several of the most noted specimens of peachblow, a large number of *sang de bœuf* and other rare and beautiful monochromes, and a bewildering assortment of decorated pieces of every shade and combination and of every classic form and every quality of paste, from the archaic celadon to the more modern and more beautiful blue and white, from the tiny snuff-bottle to the stately hawthorn vase, from the delicate egg-shell cup to the radiant ginger-pot of *bleu de ciel*. It was a harmonious assortment of decorative colors and graceful forms, which appealed to the owner's sense of proportion and of beauty, and blessed his leisure hours with ever-varying combinations to the end of his life.

In addition to many Chinese pieces, it contained a smaller number of early Korean, Japanese, Persian, and Moorish pieces, combined to illustrate the evolution of

the ceramic art. A connoisseur writing about the collection before it was scattered, after contrasting it with those of England, France, and Germany, expressed surprise that the best collection of all from the historical side should be in the hands of a New York amateur. Declaring that no other collection would furnish essential examples and illustrations as fully as Dana's, he added:

. . . "They are not in the British Museum; they are not in the Louvre; and they are conspicuously absent at Dresden. Let me suppose that I have to tell my hearers about the earliest dispersion of the porcelain of China to other countries, I should be able to show them some of it; and then the nature of the object itself, coupled with the locality in which it was found, should serve for scholarly conviction and a powerful aid to memory. Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta learned a great deal from their travels; but if we only had a few of the actual objects that they tell us of, how infinitely would our knowledge of those objects be increased? Therefore, when we trace the first developments of trade and make old documents disclose that the Arabs many centuries ago invaded the remoter Eastern seas and carried back to the shores of India, to the Red Sea, and to the African coast, and to all the islands and continents that lie between, the products of China, it is mighty interesting to be able to put your hand on a piece of Chinese porcelain that somebody has dug up in Madagascar, or in Ceylon, or on the coast of Malabar, or on a Spice Island away down in the Malay Archipelago. That is precisely what I can do in the Dana Collection. There are specimens there of porcelain from all the places I have mentioned. Most of them were found by excavating graves and sites of former dwellings; and perhaps the most interesting thing in the study of porcelain is the identification of these pieces with those described in the various literature of China which deals with the remote history and manufacture of porcelain. Since Dr. Hirth, of Leipsic, and Dr. Bushell, of Peking, have taught us to translate Chinese better than

the older scholars did, a new field of surer progress to knowledge has been opened before us, and the ancient porcelains of assured *provenance* have now an importance they did not possess before. For this reason I was, in my narrow way, quite carried away by my researches in New York; and I am persuaded that Mr. Dana must have had a most profound instinct in relation to the whole subject. Otherwise, how could he have sought, with such method and persistency, to acquire objects with which the ordinary amateur of porcelain does not concern himself at all, but which, from the scholar's point of view, are the most interesting objects there are? The whole range of the celadon that he gathered leaves no room to doubt the soundness of his belief. In all the other collections that I have seen, it is not so wide. So that I hold that if one would learn Martabani, and it is the foundation of the whole history of porcelain, he must go to New York. And it is not alone in respect of celadon that this is true. Grandidier points with pardonable exultation to his *clair de lunes*, his gray and blue Sung bowls and jars. He has never seen Mr. Dana's."

And here it may be said that the owner loved to play with these beautiful things, to rearrange them, to make new combinations and color schemes, and to discover new beauties and unsuspected harmonies, as a happy child loves to play with flowers; and no person could see him in the bright morning light handling and caressing his treasures without becoming interested in them as well as in their fascinated owner, or leave them without the conviction that his love for them was as simple and unaffected as it was deep and abiding. The collection, numbering something over four hundred pieces, large and small, was sold after his death for nearly two hundred thousand dollars. The sale attracted the connoisseurs from all parts of the country, and, as they represented collectors from nearly all parts of the world, the bidding and the prices paid made the event a genuine sensation. No collection

up to that time had ever been sold in New York that equalled it in the quality and importance of the pieces which composed it, or in the prices which they brought. It is to be regretted that instead of being widely scattered they were not bought as a collection, and placed in a museum for the enjoyment and education of the public.

In 1873 Dana bought Dosoris, one of two small islands, the area of which is about forty acres. It is situated near Glen Cove, on the north shore of Long Island, with which it is connected by a causeway and bridge. It contains a large, old-fashioned frame house, in which he made his country home, and around which he created a fairyland of trees and flowers. The natural beauties of the place were heightened by all the devices of the gardener and the arboriculturist. In these arts Dana showed the same æsthetic sense that had been his guide in poetry, music, painting, and ceramics. Every morning, evening, and Sunday, during spring, summer, and autumn, and frequently in the winter, he directed his men in laying out the grounds, constructing paths, roads, and flower-beds, and in transplanting trees and arranging new combinations and effects. To this end he brought rare trees from all parts of America and Europe. Through the thoughtfulness of a friend, who fetched him acorns from the tomb of Confucius, he soon had flourishing Chinese oaks to add to the native trees which made his grounds so attractive. Many of his trees were noted for their perfection of form and foliage, which, added to the variety of the species found there, made Dosoris a place at which arboriculturists from all parts of America were welcome, and to which many came to study as well as to admire. For many years it is believed that no private place in the country afforded the journals devoted to such matters so many interesting subjects for illustration and discussion. As there was nothing churlish or exclusive in Dana's nature, he took

as much pleasure in showing his trees and flowers to his friends and neighbors as he did in looking at them himself. As can well be understood, the place was a joy and a delight to those who visited it, and this was due quite as much to the geniality and intelligence of the owner, as to the beauties of nature and art which it gave him so much pleasure to exhibit and to describe.

It follows almost, of course, that a man of such diversified tastes and accomplishments, of such sane and enlightened occupations, must have been a man of rare personality, and such was the case. His love of finding interest for the mind in everything he did made the world a joy and a delight to him in all its parts. His body was as vigorous and healthy as his mind. It was in harmony with all its surroundings. He was a strong and sturdy walker, an excellent swimmer, a fair boatman, and an admirable horseman, skilled in all the arts of the "high school." He doubtless rode in boyhood, but he first began to ride for exercise when his intimate friend Frederick Law Olmsted was making Central Park. In this art as in the others the ordinary and commonplace did not satisfy him. He wanted to be a master of it, and was fortunate in finding an old Spanish gentleman who was an accomplished horseman, and under whose instruction he worked as hard at both riding and training horses as he did at his other occupations. With the close and intelligent application he gave to his daily lessons, he not only learned how to sit and handle a horse in motion with ease and satisfaction, but how to give him all the accomplishments necessary to fit him for the saddle. With the skill he acquired in breaking and training, he soon became an excellent judge of saddle-horses, and so long as he used them, generally had an exceedingly good one in his own stable.

From what has been said, it should be inferred that Dana had practically perfect health throughout life. Even

such a thing as a headache or a rheumatic pain was unknown to him, and notwithstanding his exposure at times during the Civil War, he never had what could be called an ailing moment. Temperate and simple in his tastes and habits, he made no complaint of cold, hunger, or privation. He was by nature disposed to make the best of what life brought to him, and to look not only calmly but confidently to the future. He claimed but little for himself, but instinctively credited his fellow-men with good rather than bad motives. Suspicion was foreign to his nature, and although he was a man of high passion, strong enthusiasm, and vivid imagination, it would have been difficult to find among his contemporaries one whose habit of thought and philosophy of life were marked by greater sanity or more evenly balanced judgment. He did nothing from temper or passion, and adopted no course, either personal or official, unless it was approved by reason and reflection. With a keen sense of humor and a disposition of unfailing cheerfulness, he was disposed to find fun in everything, and these qualities made him a delightful companion alike to young and old, and gave a special tone to his newspaper. They were ever present in his home life, where they made him the most intimate friend of his children and their companions. Indeed, it was one of his most perfect gifts that he could adapt himself to the understanding and gain the confidence of the young as fully as of the old. Few parents ever lived in more perfect harmony with their children, and few children ever grew up in more perfect enjoyment and admiration of their father than was the case in Dana's household. He played and worked with his son and daughters from their earliest days, not only helping them in their studies, but constantly supplementing and enlivening them with bits of information and learning, which they could not have gathered otherwise till later in life.

A favorite entertainment with him was to have his children read aloud German fairy tales and folk songs, or short poems from the French in the original, and then, without previous preparation, translate them with his help into English. In this way they absorbed much that was charming at the time, and valuable thereafter, without effort, and without interfering with their regular study hours. No matter what might be the pressure upon him, he was always ready to help a child in its tasks. The evenness of his temper, his great capacity for work, and the extraordinary efficiency of his faculties, made it impossible to hurry or disturb him either at home or at his desk. These qualities gave to his character a balance and steadiness that shed a pleasant influence upon all who came within their reach.

It is the testimony of those who had an opportunity to know, that no office of any kind was ever more quiet, happy, harmonious, and well-governed than was the *Sun* office under Dana. Every man in it fell unconsciously under the sway of his chief's personality, and from the first regarded himself as the respected and trusted servant of a master whose eye for what was praiseworthy was never shut, and whose quick and generous impulse was to recognize and reward merit and ability wherever he found them. No newspaper at that time paid better salaries than the *Sun*, and no better school of journalism ever existed in this country. While the principal instruction was given by the blue pencil, it was so thorough and so effective that those who were fortunate enough to receive it soon came to be known to the press at large as "the clever young men of the *Sun*," and many of them now hold high and lucrative positions in journalism.

His originality and success have been widely recognized throughout the United States, and it is but just to add that he has been imitated as much in the make-up of

the newspaper as in the style of his own writing, or in that which he impressed upon his assistants and contributors. It was as natural for him to run his pencil through words and phrases, to substitute other words, and to transpose paragraphs and expressions in the contributions of others as in his own. His constant effort was to clarify, to strengthen, and to condense for the purpose of bringing out the meaning of the writer, saving the time, and finding the line of least resistance to the understanding of the reader. In all that was necessary to those ends he was an adept of transcendent ability, and yet much of what he did seems to have been done quite unconsciously. When asked how he did it, he replied, "When a man knows it he goes and does it."

As his fame spread throughout the country, he was frequently called upon to deliver lectures, especially on the subject of journalism, and quite frequently accepted, but it is not known that he ever wrote out beforehand what he intended to say. Without being an orator, he was evidently able to think rapidly and clearly on his feet. His delivery was not only deliberate, orderly, and consecutive, but unusually pleasing, if not eloquent. He was happy as a *raconteur*, and as his mind was stored with poetry, history, and anecdote, his most informal talks were always cheerful and interesting.

While it is by no means certain that he had in the earlier stages of his editorial career any established canons for the profession of journalism or the art of newspaper-making, it is evident that the true principles to be observed slowly framed themselves in his mind, and ultimately received definite form and consistency. This was doubtless due in part to the fact that the *Sun* was printed for many years as a single folio, given up almost entirely to editorials and the briefest statement of the news. The science of journalism as developed on that paper by Dana is set

forth in three lectures, the first on "The Modern American Newspaper," delivered before the Wisconsin Editorial Association at Milwaukee, on Tuesday, July 24, 1888; the second on "The Profession of Journalism," delivered to the students of Union College, on Friday, October 13, 1893; and the third on "The Making of a Newspaper Man," delivered at Cornell University, on Founder's Day, January 11, 1894. As these have been collected into a handy volume[1] which is still on sale, no effort is made in this narrative to epitomize them. They give succinctly, but somewhat informally, the results of his experience and reflection, and conclude with a few important maxims on which he evidently thought the whole art, so far as it could be formulated, is founded.

[1] *The Art of Newspaper Making.* By Charles A. Dana. pp. 114, D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1900.

XXIX

END OF LIFE-WORK

Ceases to go to office—Doctors called—Resignation—Last editorial—Death at hand—Conclusion—Summation of character

In June, 1897, Mr. Dana began to feel unwell, and to remain away from his office. He made no complaint of acute pain, but showed evidence of discomfort or *malaise*, the seat of which he located in his side. Having enjoyed extraordinary health throughout life, he naturally thought his trouble was a functional one which would soon pass away, but in this he was disappointed. He grew gradually but slowly worse. The physicians were called, and in due time made the discovery that one of his vital organs was seriously affected, and that a cure was impossible. This was, of course, concealed from him, so far as it was possible to conceal so great a fact. He was never informed as to the real nature and probable course of his ailment, and never asked; but those who were nearest to him never doubted that he had from the earliest consultation of his physicians inferred from their silence, rather than from what they said, that it was incurable and would after a few months prove fatal. And this proved to be the case. The patient indulged in no repining, but gave up work, and with the cheerfulness of a philosopher who had enjoyed life to the full resigned himself calmly to his fate. He talked freely with his family and friends, showing no sign of revolt or trepidation. In the earlier days of his retirement he gave his views as to the question of life

after death as already related. He was calm, collected, and, if not cheerful, at least not overwhelmed by the shadow which was slowly darkening towards the end. He talked freely of passing events, and showed no diminution of interest in what was going on about him. He read the *Sun*, and occasionally a favorite book, but seemed to recognize the fact that the battle was over, and that nothing remained for him except a short period of rest by the side of the sea, under the trees he loved so well.

Of course he was missed from his accustomed place, and it was not long till a country newspaper, which loved him not, spread the report that he had resigned from the *Sun*. The absurdity of the report was manifest to such as knew the real facts, but fearing that the public might credit it, he formally denied it in an editorial, which was headed "A Falsehood," and appeared on August 6, 1897, as follows:

"A friend in Geneva informs us that certain papers in that neighborhood say that Mr. Dana has resigned as editor of the *Sun*.

"This is a falsehood. Mr. Dana has never been of a resigning habit, and hereby declares that he has not commenced the practice in the present case.

"He can still be found doing business at the same old stand, and the man does not live who can say that he has seen him there, or elsewhere, turn his back upon either a friend or a foe."

These were the last words he ever wrote for the *Sun*. The end was at hand. But a few weeks of declining strength, with but little pain, and no obscuration of the intellect, remained for the untiring scholar, the unselfish patriot, the fearless official, the great independent and indomitable editor. He died at his home, in the midst of his family, surrounded by the scenes he loved so much, on October 17, 1897, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

I have endeavored in this narrative to set forth the principal incidents, and to bring out the salient characteristics of this most interesting life. No important fact which has come to my knowledge has been omitted. I have not argued the case, nor stated the conclusions which might properly be drawn from the words and deeds of this fearless and aggressive man. He lived and fought in the open, concealing no act, hiding no thought, but giving to every cause he espoused, and to every conflict in which he took part, the best there was in him. No man of his time was better known, and it may well be doubted if any man of his time ever exerted a wider or a more wholesome influence in the education of the public mind to the righteous settlement of the great questions which agitated the country for the half-century which closed his life. While he was certainly first in every political conflict, and brought to bear the extraordinary resources of his mind and pen, there were many who were glad to fly to his assistance when once he had sounded the charge. He neither carried on the fight alone, nor wasted time in gathering the spoils of battle. Like the great victor on the strand of Salamis, to his attendants he might well have exclaimed, "Ye may take these things; ye are not Themistocles." It was sufficient for him to know that the field was won, and that the *Sun* had been a leader not unworthy of the cause. That he was a very great editor, if not the greatest the country had produced, will be admitted generally. That he overtopped and overlooked all professional contemporaries of his later years no one will question. He stood alone in the last decade of the century. He had not only outlived the great men whom he had opposed and for whom he had fought, but he had outlived obloquy and detraction. His work was done, and there was but one Dana and one *Sun*.

APPENDIX

BROOK FARM

An address delivered at the University of Michigan on Thursday, January 21, 1895:

"Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Let me begin by saying that this is intended rather for a conversation than for a regular discourse, and I shall be very much obliged to any one of you who will interrupt me to ask any question or clear up any point that occurs to him. It is almost a subject of ancient history that we are going to consider. Few persons who are here can be familiar with the outlines of it, and there will naturally be a good many things that may be obscure. Let these be made plain, if possible, as we go along.

"About fifty years ago this country was the scene of an intellectual agitation that I do not think can be quite matched in history. It began with the antislavery movement, an attack upon an institution fortified by the Constitution of the United States, and connected with the great commercial interests of the country, amounting in pecuniary value to I know not how many thousands of millions of dollars; and it naturally inflamed the passions of the people, particularly in the Southern States, where slaves were held. This agitation was carried on with great intensity and fierceness of feeling on both sides, and with a terrible disturbance of the mind in almost the whole population of the country. To be called an abolitionist was, in many places, almost the greatest stigma that could be put upon a man. He was accused of attempting to destroy the foundations of the republic; he was launching

us into an unknown and dreadful struggle; he was appealing to moral sentiments when he questioned what affected more or less the property of the whole land; and the violence of the indignation which he roused was equalled only by the steadiness of his own purpose and his determination to stand by a movement based on the deepest foundations of human nature, and the feelings and the mind of every intelligent person. That was a great agitation, but it was accompanied by many others. They sprung up around it as a thicket of plants may surround a great tree.

The antislavery agitation was carried on in two ways principally: by public meetings, conventions, and lectures held in different parts of the country, and by the newspaper press. The newspapers that were engaged in it at first were very few. There were not many men who had the moral nerve to enlist in the mighty battle. The most conspicuous of them all was William Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, and his principal associate was Wendell Phillips, also of Boston. They were objects on the one side of great admiration and respect, and on the other side they were assailed with a degree of vituperation which I have never seen surpassed in any political contest or in any contest whatever. They were mobbed; their meetings were broken up; they were assailed with every insult; they were sometimes in danger of being lynched, and harm of every sort was threatened against them. Nothing, certainly, but the most indomitable motives of conscience, and the clearest conviction of right and duty, could ever have carried them through their campaign. Finally the question that they had raised was settled by war, and we can all remember the horrors of that awful, that bloody struggle, whose tremendous features were relieved only by the glorious circumstance that the final decision was in favor of freedom, that it struck the fetters from every slave, and that in consequence there is now in this broad land no such thing as bondage, no such thing as a man who is merely a chattel like the beasts that perish.

"It was a genuine emancipation. It was accomplished by war. And when it was done even those most bitterly opposed to the abolition agitation joined in rejoicings at the

peace we had achieved. I ought to say, however, that a great deal more of the credit for this crowning result of emancipation and liberty was due to the abolitionists than they have received, or perhaps ever will receive, even in the verdict of impartial history. They did nothing directly to bring about freedom; they struck off the fetters of not a single slave; but they had awakened by their long labors, by their persistent efforts in the face of every obstacle, a moral sentiment which was active in the hearts of the whole country, and which, of itself, contributed much to the victory that right and liberty and conscience finally achieved.

"While this supreme agitation was going forward, every other sort of agitation appeared along with it. Moral principles were evoked and attached to things that apparently had no relations to morality. Non-resistance was one of these moral principles. It was wrong to use force, we were told. The advocates of this theory averred that no government should stand on force. If it is force that finally decides, where is your republican government? We might as well have despotism. Our ideal is a government of intelligence, of conviction, of conscience, and of moral duty. I remember that this party of non-resistance proved to be pretty large. Its doctrine was that you must never resist physical constraint. If a man struck you on one cheek, turn the other to him; overcome evil with good. Accordingly, there were many men, and men of bright intelligence and genuine culture, who refused to be a party in the operations of government, and who would not hold any office. Edmund Quincy, in Boston, one of the most charming men I have ever known, rejected his commission as a justice of the peace, which Governor Everett sent to him, because he could not conscientiously hold any office the exercise of which implied the use of physical force.

"Some of those moral standards which were set up at that time seem to us nowadays to have been fine-spun and unsubstantial. I remember one of my friends, the late Mr. Bronson Alcott, a gentleman of distinction in his day, a philosopher and a writer of singular subtlety and elevation.

He came to the conclusion that the use of fire in cooking was wicked, that there could be no purity, nothing heavenly in food that was cooked by fire Why? Fire belonged in the other place. Another of his notions, which several of his friends adopted with him, was that it was wrong to use sheeps' wool in making clothes, because nature gave the sheep its fleece for its protection and warmth, and if you shear off the fleece for your own purposes, you deprive this unresisting and helpless sheep of its natural clothing. Therefore you ought not to do it; it was a sin. If you would go around in the field among the brambles where the sheep wandered, and gather up there the parts of their fleece which had been caught off by the twigs and branches, there would be no sin in making clothes of that sort of wool. But to go into a shop and buy a piece of woollen cloth and have it made into a coat would be sinful. As for cotton clothes, they could not be worn because there was slavery in every fibre. The cotton was cultivated by slaves and gathered by slaves, and the man who put on any American cotton was compromising with slavery, and making himself a party to slavery, when he ought to repudiate slavery, spurn the devil and all his works. So they couldn't rightfully wear either woollen or cotton clothes, and had to take refuge in linen. I recollect I was driving along one day in the winter when I came upon two of these gentlemen dressed in linen garments. They had on overcoats, but they were of linen. They looked cold, and owned it, and said they were glad when I asked them to drive home with me. When dinner came they were perfectly willing to take seats with us at the table, but they wished us to understand beforehand that they had brought their own food with them, and that they could not take part in any banquet that had been prepared by fire. They had a bag of apples and a bag of uncracked wheat; and out of that, with a drink of plain water, they made their dinner.

"Well, the whole country was full of just such ideas, such arguments, and some of them were sensible and some were not. There was another movement of real and profound importance that was going on at that time, especially in Boston, and that

was what was known as the uprising of the Transcendental school. It was a school of philosophy. It grew up in opposition to the philosophy which taught that there was nothing in the intellect that had not before been in the senses. The Transcendentalists maintained the doctrine of the orginal intuitions of the mind, and that the soul communes with regions that lie beyond the senses, and has intimations of divine truth that the senses cannot reveal. Their school was very active. There were men in it of great importance, men whose names remain in literature. There was Mr. Emerson, perhaps the first man, in his famous discourse on nature, to declare aggressively in this country the doctrine of this Transcendental school. Mr. George Ripley, a Unitarian minister in Boston, was another advocate of it. He was a man of high education, immense knowledge, and of ability and courage equal to any man's. In this party of Transcendental philosophers the idea early arose—it was first stated by Mr. George Bancroft, the historian, who sympathized thoroughly with the Transcendentalists—that democracy, while it existed in the Constitution of the United States, while it had triumphed as a political party under Jefferson, and while it was then in possession of a majority of the governments of the States, and at times of the government of the United States, was not enough. That was not the perfect realization of democracy. If democracy was the sublime truth which it was held to be, it should be raised up from the sphere of politics, from the sphere of law and constitutions; it should be raised up into life and be made social. The principle of equality, which allowed every man's vote to be as good as that of every other man, should be extended so that in society and in social life the same principle of equality should be applied throughout. One of the things that these democratic philosophers particularly objected to was that while the master sat in the parlor up-stairs, the servant sat in the kitchen down-stairs. They ought to be on the same level; equality and democracy should characterize our social relations. Every person—this was their teaching—should have an opportunity of education, so that all his faculties could be cultivated and developed, and all the ave-

nues of knowledge should be opened to every one who desired to enter. That could only be accomplished by the reform of society; and this reform of society these people, after long study and much discussion, determined it was their duty to realize. And that was what inspired the socialistic movement which began about 1835 or 1838. It was not, as you will observe, akin in the least to the theory of which Karl Marx is perhaps the most celebrated advocate, the government socialism, in which the government owns all land and machinery, all means of manufacture, all the shops of industry, and the people are its employés and subjects. On the contrary, the socialism of that day contemplated merely a system of associated living, of combined households, with joint stock ownership of the joint property; every stockholder to get his share in the profits, which he had helped to earn, and the share earned by the capital he had invested. The idea of government monopoly in ownership was most repugnant to the theorists we are speaking of. Individuality and liberty were their cherished objects, and all forms of communism they zealously repudiated. Nor did the socialism we are considering start from the uneducated or the poor. Its adherents were all people who had gathered in the fruit of the highest education, the fullest knowledge, the highest refinement that was known to American society in those times. They were scholars, thinkers, clergymen, philosophers, men and women of eminence in literature and society; and when some of them began to discuss the problem of revolutionizing social life, of placing it upon a democratic platform, and of giving each man an equal chance with every other man, their movement naturally drew a great deal of attention. It was joked about in the newspapers. The newspapers were great in joking then, as they have been since. They laughed at it and they prophesied that as every such undertaking of which they had a record had failed before, this would also fail and go out as a passing cloud, as a fancy that had no substantial reality behind it.

"The idea of founding a society of associated families was strengthened considerably by the experience of the Shakers,

and this argument was constantly brought forward in the meetings of those engaged in studying the subject. The Shakers were then of much more importance than they are now. I believe there were more societies of them, and they had the reputation of being rich as well as successful. They were all democratic in a certain sense. Every person had the same opportunity. They had to obey a kind of ecclesiastical authority, and they lived in celibacy; but so far as the ordinary social relations were concerned, the Shakers were entirely democratic.

"Then there began to be published at about this time the writings of an ardent enthusiast, an American from western New York named Albert Brisbane. He had lived several years in Europe, especially in Paris, and there he had got acquainted with a man who was undoubtedly one of the greatest theorists upon the subject of social institutions and social progress that has ever appeared—Charles Fourier. His system is complicated, but very remarkable and interesting, and well worth studying merely as a subject of intellectual scrutiny. Brisbane published several books in favor of Association, Industrial Association, Agricultural Association, Co-operative Association, or, as he called it, the combined order of society, as distinguished from the order of separate households, each family living by itself. His arguments were very striking. In the first place, there was the economy of the new system. You could lodge, feed, and clothe a thousand people in one great, combined household much more cheaply than when each family had its own separate dwelling. Each family would have its own apartments, and his idea in some respects suggested such great apartment-houses as we now have in some of our large cities, where one hundred families may live under one roof, and yet have an independent style of life. His views were greatly strengthened in their influence by the adhesion of Mr. Horace Greeley, of the New York *Tribune*, then lately established. Mr. Greeley embraced the associative doctrine very early and with great enthusiasm and zeal. He saw the economical advantages; he saw that a thousand people might live together and save money in a combined household, even when none of

them might have enough to live on separately; yet he did not profess to understand the philosophical theory of Fourier. His advocacy had great weight, and for a long period the newspaper which Greeley conducted, the New York *Tribune*, set apart one or two columns every day, for which the editor didn't assume any responsibility, but which were conducted by Brisbane. That produced a great effect all over the country. Mr. Parke Godwin's writings, and those of the Rev. W. H. Channing on the same subject, were likewise of extraordinary force and persuasiveness.

"Now, this new agitation took at once a very marked place in the moral discussions of that time, and in the social and economic discussions. Not that it drew away from either of the other intellectual and moral movements; there were just as many abolitionists after it as before, and just as many non-resistants; but a great many people—very intelligent people—took up this idea of social reform and of the reorganization of society upon the associative basis, applying the principle of association to industry, to art, to education, to the whole round of humanity's social existence. Acting under this impulse a party of philosophers in Boston, after long study and deliberation, now determined to try the experiment of an association, though without any of the special features of Fourier's system. The same determination was reached in other places. There was a party in Northampton, Massachusetts, which organized a small association. There was one begun by a Universalist clergyman, a most excellent man, the Rev. Adin Ballou, at Peacedale, also in Massachusetts. He was a non-resistant; so much so that I remember when a proposition was made to him, after several months, to combine his society with the Transcendental party that I have been speaking of, with Mr. Ripley and his associates, he emphatically declined. The Transcendentalists said, 'Let us all go in together and put our resources together, then we shall be a good deal stronger and our chance of success will be increased.' 'No,' said Mr. Ballou, 'we cannot do it. We are non-resistants, and you tolerate the application of force in government. Therefore we must remain apart.'

"It was in the spring of 1841 that Mr. Ripley and his friends determined to buy a farm of two hundred and odd acres in West Roxbury, about eight miles from Boston. It was a very pretty piece of land, most excellently situated, well watered, and not a bad soil—a very eligible place. They organized a society called the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education, and began work. This organization was conceived in Transcendentalism, and designed to carry on social life in accordance with democratic and Christian ideas. There had been all the time a notable agitation respecting the unsanitary habits of college students, of people who pursued literature and learning. They used to sit in their studies and get no regular exercise, and had no life in nature; they did not go out in the free air and gain their livelihood by the sweat of their brows. The argument was that while any one was pursuing philosophy and literature and philology and mathematics, he ought to work on the land, to cultivate the earth; and the man who didn't work on the land could not have first-rate health. This was their position. So, in order to reform society, in order to regenerate the world, in order to realize democracy in the social relations, these friends of ours determined that their society should first pursue agriculture, which would give every man plenty of out-door labor in the free air, and at the same time the opportunity of study, of instruction, of becoming familiar with everything in literature and in learning. So they began the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education. They went out in the spring and took possession of their farm. Next to Mrs. Ripley and Mr. Ripley, the most distinguished person who went with them was Nathaniel Hawthorne. He had also adopted the idea that he would like to work out-doors. He had got tired of the routine of literary life in his study, and of the more tedious routine of official life in the Salem custom-house; and so he started in by advancing money towards buying the farm along the brook.

"A large majority of the Brook-Farmers were literary people or of literary associations, but there were people of other callings among them, too. There was a pressman and a grocer, each with his family. Several had been farmers'

hired men. There was an English girl who had been a domestic, and a very superior woman she was. I also remember particularly an Englishman who came to Brook Farm from his service as valet to an English baronet then staying in Boston. His name was John Cheever, and he proved to be one of the most entertaining members of the society. He was very amusing, and always pleasant as a companion at table, for we all took our meals in the same room. There was no social differentiation at Brook Farm.

"They began operations with zeal. They planted their crops and cultivated them, and these studious men, whose hands were soft before, and who had never touched a ploughshare or a sickle in all their lives, now set to work as farmers. As a result, their health was improved and they had a great deal of entertainment out of it. And the people who read the newspapers got some entertainment, too, because their doings and transactions were occasionally reported. I was not there, but I afterwards became one of them. I broke down my eyes at Harvard College, and candor compels me to say, however, that I didn't break them down studying. I sat up a good part of one night and read *Oliver Twist* by candle-light. The book was just then published, and was very badly printed. When I got through I thought I would never see again. It was three o'clock in the morning. Well, in those days when a person broke down his eyes he had to try farming or else to go to sea—my cousin, Richard Henry Dana, spent two years before the mast for that reason, and a noble book he made out of it. Some of my friends said to me, 'Now is your chance; go out to Brook Farm.' So I went there. I had known them well before, and they kindly took me in. After I had been there a month or two I was elected one of the trustees, and from that time out I was fully in the movement.

"A great deal of romance has been written and more has been talked about the transactions at Brook Farm. The city people who went there occasionally on fine summer days and walked over those beautiful fields where our philosophers were mowing or reaping, or those who stayed in the evening and attended one of the literary conferences, which were often

held, were always much impressed. Mr. Emerson came once or twice a year, and when he came there was a gathering in the parlor, and he would discourse, and some one else would discourse, and others would ask questions, and there would be a discussion of some interesting literary or philosophical theme, and everybody listened with pleasure to this high debate. The same was the case when Margaret Fuller paid us an occasional visit. It was really delightful, and it gave a kind of character and reputation to the place that it never would have got from the more prosaic mowing and haying that went on there in the daytime. Then the opportunity of education was open to everybody who belonged to the society. Every person, member or member's child, paid so much for his board, and the Greek and Latin, the æsthetic philosophy, the singing and dancing were thrown in. But the regular students who were not members paid, and some of them worked, too, because they liked it. I remember one young gentleman from an aristocratic family in Boston had the misfortune to get rusticated at Harvard, and he was sent off for six or eight months. Well, he came to Brook Farm; and I remember that some of his natural predilections developed themselves there as they had not before been able to do. One of his passions was horses, and if he could get a horse to curry and brush down, his happiness was complete. Nobody asked him to do it; he asked if he might, and he got the permission very easily, I assure you. So in the morning he would work an hour or more around the horses and then get his breakfast. In the afternoon, after he had done with his lessons, if he could drive four oxen to plough, or if he could get a stout team of horses and go and haul in wood, he thought it was lovely. He was never happier in his life than when he had on a long blue farmer's frock, and was starting off with his big cart after a load of wood.

"So everybody enjoyed it. And it was really delightful, because there was this combination of intellectual occupations and out-door work; and the living, too, was pretty fair. It was not luxurious; it was fair; it was nutritious. Everybody enjoyed it, and the thing went on beautifully. Every

now and then some intellectual swell would come to pay us a visit, and he would hold a discourse or a conversation, and we were all delighted to hear him. It was like having a free lecture course every evening. But there was no communism about it. Individual liberty and independence were strictly guarded. The only thing that had the appearance of communism was the common opportunity of education and a living at the same time. Nobody could get better board than all had, and access to the means of instruction was open to every one alike; and there was a common compensation. Each man got one dollar a day, and each woman the same. That was passed to the credit of each. Each one paid for his board a certain amount; I think it was two dollars and fifty cents a week. Woman stood on the same plane as the lords of creation. A woman in that society was just as good as a man, and sometimes a great deal better.

"But it didn't pay. We kept a good school, with a most extensive range of instruction, but we didn't have scholars enough, or get enough money from them. There wasn't enough money coming in. It wasn't exactly like an ordinary school, where the scholars sit around on benches and stand up when they are called on to recite. Everybody there could begin in the morning, and stay until four in the afternoon if he liked. Each pupil undertook to learn certain things, and those things he had to learn. His hours of recitation were regularly appointed, and he came knowing his lesson or else he was sent back to learn it. There was no absence of strictness in the mental discipline of the school. And yet it was a great deal freer than ordinary schools. If a young man wanted to go out and study his lesson under a tree, he had that privilege. The air of freedom and democracy about the place was one of its principal attractions. But the needed income did not materialize, and after the experiment had gone on about three years, it was concluded that we were not likely to revolutionize the social system of the world in that way. Our design was good, and we were most seriously in earnest. I never saw a more determined purpose than that pervading our membership. Here was the world suffering. The same complaints

abounded that we hear now, but the great public did not come over to us. We were constantly getting applications for admission from families that wanted to come in, and we took them in if we thought best; but we hadn't accommodations, buildings, or the capital required for enlarging the establishment. We concluded that the reason we were not succeeding as we should do, and as we had hoped to do, was that we were too weak, too poor. We also began to pay more and more attention to the works of M. Fourier, the French writer. We concluded that if we could organize ourselves upon his system, which seemed to be getting adherents all over the country, we would be sure of making a greater impression on intelligent people. If we could only apply his system we might be able to accomplish our absorbing desire for a universal social reform. We might thus do the duty that we felt was incumbent upon us.

"So we determined to endeavor to apply Fourier's system. That is a very complicated doctrine. A great point of it is that the troubles, conflicts, difficulties, and disturbances that exist in society are due to the fact that the soul of man isn't suited with such social institutions as now exist. Man was made to be a harmonious being, to live in harmony with his fellow-man; and life upon this earth was designed by the Creator to be a scene of happiness and joy, with no other reasons or occasions for suffering than the events of mortality and the occasional accidents or attacks of sickness. How can a society be organized which will give happiness to man? You must begin with a true analysis of human nature; you must find out what are the constant, the lasting needs of human nature, and you must organize society to meet those needs, to satisfy those wants; and in order to do that we must obtain a scientific knowledge of human nature. That is not set out in any current and received philosophy. There is no school that teaches the real constitution of the human soul. According to Fourier, there are in the soul of man passions or affections and faculties. There are three kinds of these passions. First, there are the five that bring man into relation with the outer world through his senses—sight, taste, touch,

smell, hearing. Then there are four social passions—namely, friendship, ambition, love, and the family affection. Then there are three intellectual affections which distribute the harmonies of the others. These are: First, the love of change—nobody wants to pursue any occupation longer than an hour and a half or two hours. The mind becomes tired and you need alternation. The next is analysis. That impulse takes a subject to pieces and finds out its parts. Then the third is the composite or combining passion, the desire that takes the parts of anything which you have analyzed, and combines them in a new whole, as Beethoven or Handel combined and varied the notes of the octave in a symphony or oratorio, in which the whole is new, while the elements are all old and familiar. Then, finally, in this system of metaphysics, the soul of man as a whole has an impulse towards unity, a passion for universal harmony, a religious passion. If, now, you arrange society in accordance with this analysis of the soul, if you combine all these elements, as a great composer combines the notes of the musical scale, you will have harmony, economy, joy, and delight, and life will be one scene of continuous pleasure and continuous usefulness, greater, nobler, more elevated, more complete than man in this world has yet known. Industry, instead of being monotonous, tedious, and repugnant, will be attractive, a source of pleasure and of artistic delight. That is the theory of Fourier stated in a most general manner. But it requires at least eight hundred men and women, eight hundred people, to apply this theory at all, and eighteen hundred to apply it thoroughly. With fewer than that it is impossible to arrange this social symphony; also it requires a vast capital. Fourier labored all his life on the problem. He had few friends, apparently. He was all his life publishing books of impressive eloquence, brilliant analysis, and indignant protest, and appealing to kings and millionaires to come forward and give him the two million dollars which he found necessary to realize his theory and demonstrate to mankind that the millennium could now be begun and developed on the earth. But he never found the backer he was looking for, and died without even beginning to illustrate his idea.

"At the time of this new evolution in Brook Farm, there were several communities or associations in different parts of the country organized very much on our original plan. There was the North American Phalanx, so called, in New Jersey, twenty miles from New York; the Ontario Phalanx, in northern New York; there was one in Ohio, and there were several others. But none of them was successful; they did not pay. So we at Brook Farm made the change we had so long considered. We got an act of the legislature incorporating the Brook Farm Phalanx, and our whole society was merged into this new establishment. We began again with hope. We got some new capital and we took in new members and added some new branches of industry—shoemaking, carpentry, work in britannia metal, and so on. But after a year or two we found that the business was not going profitably enough, and we went to work to erect a new building. We were now a phalanx, as Fourier's association is called. The habitation of a phalanx is a phalanstery, and we put into ours the last cent we had. Well, one night the whole thing took fire and burned up. And there was one unpleasant fact about it. I was at the head of the financial department, and I was away at the time in New York, and the one thing that we were most ashamed of was that the insurance expired the day before the fire and hadn't been renewed. But the faith of the majority of the members was not shaken. The faith of Mr. Ripley especially, a philosopher of the first order, was just as firm, and he was just as firmly convinced of the truth of the associative theory when he saw the building go up in smoke as he was before; he was just as certain then as when he laid the foundations. But after the building was burned up we had no longer the means of taking new pupils or introducing new industries and creating new revenues for ourselves. When we came to make up our accounts for the year we found we had taken in considerable money, and we had spent all but one thousand dollars of it. There were about seventy people in the establishment, including the members, children, and students, and certainly one thousand dollars wouldn't carry us through the next year.

"You may like to know something about the mode of life there. In reorganizing the society and bringing it down to the new basis, the teaching of Fourier, which we adopted, was that all industries should be carried on in groups and series. For instance, there should be a series of gardeners. One group of them cultivated trees, another small fruits, another vegetables, and there were half a dozen of these different but connected groups. So it was all through the establishment. There was a series that managed the domestic labor or housework. There was a group called the group of the dormitory that made the beds and took care of the bedrooms generally; one called the consistory that had charge of the parlors and public rooms; and one called the refectory, which included the cooks, the waiters, and the dishwashers. They were organized and worked together. I know that, because I was the head-waiter. And it was great fun, I can tell you. There were seventy people or more, and at dinner they all came in and we served them. So every department of the establishment was carried on in that way. Each person chose what he wished to do, what groups he would work in, and none of the boys and girls tried to shirk. There was more entertainment in doing the duty than in getting away from it. Every one was not only ready for his work, but glad to do it, and this brings me to a peculiar feature of the system: the person who did the most disagreeable work was the one to receive special honor and distinction, because he was a servant of the others and was rendering to his brothers a service not pleasant in itself, but which, in other circumstances, they would render to him. In this scheme of social democracy that was one of the most suggestive features. In the phalanx the young people, the middle-aged, and the old should all be ready to do a duty which may be inconvenient, as well as that which it is convenient for them to do. For instance, Mr. Ripley, the head of the phalanx, was the chief of the cow-milking group. I belonged to the same group. That was a universal quality and characteristic of the society. Just as a sculptor who is carving an Apollo, an image of divine beauty, goes to his work with joy and passion, so among us every duty and every kind

of labor ought to be performed with the same enthusiasm, the same zeal, and the same sense of artistic pride.

"That is the theory. It is true it was not always fully realized, but we realized a great amount of instruction, a great amount of satisfaction: and when we finally separated after the burning up of our building, in which so much of our hopes had been centred, we went away, each to begin life in the world again. I went to Boston to earn five dollars a week on a morning newspaper. We all began anew very soon except Mr. Ripley. He remained and settled up the affairs. And when the business was closed up and all the accounts settled and paid, as they all were, we owed nobody a dollar. But I am sorry to say that George Ripley no longer possessed the fine library that he had previous to our experiment; it was sold to pay off the creditors. We were all proud of the fact, though he never spoke of it. And in a general way our experience was duplicated by the other associations or phalanxes. Without our special misfortune they all came to a similar end. I don't know of one of them that lasted till 1860.

"That is the story of the socialist movement of that day, and it certainly went far beyond the dreams with which Coleridge and Southey and their friends are said to have entertained their youth a hundred years before. We may say that, as a reform of society, the movement accomplished nothing. But what it did accomplish was a great deal of good for those who were concerned in it and no great loss for any of those who furnished money. Still the questions remain: Is the theory sound? Is that sort of social reform practicable? Fourier said it was, and that in the revolutions of time it would be brought about by natural causation, and without any special effort, though it might be hastened. There was nothing in any of these experiments to determine the absolute value of Fourier's system, since none of them started with the required capital, or with a selected membership of sufficient numbers, or a perfect knowledge of Fourier's law of groups and series and passional attraction. But is it a valid philosophy? Is there truth in it? Is it the Destiny of

Man? I do not know; but I am sure that if it be the destiny of the future, mankind will have reason to thank the Infinite Father for conferring upon His children the manifold blessings of industrial attraction and passional harmony."

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